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TABLE OF CONTENTS

NATIONAL

Page

REVOLUTION IN LITERATURE AND ART

Deepen Criticism of Teng Hsiao-p'ing, Persevere in the Revolution in Literature and Art - by Ch'u Lan 1

Model Revolutionary Plays Constitute the Hallmark of the Proletarian Revolution in Literature and Art in Our Country - by Hung I-ta 7

ANNIVERSARY OF MAY 16 CIRCULAR

Growing Up and Advancing in Struggle - by Chiang Hai-yün 11

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PRICES SUBJECT TO CHANGE

Page

A Brilliant Document That Forever Inspires Us To Advance in Victory 13

WORKERS' COLLEGES

More Workers' Colleges for Northeast China Industrial Province 16

WORKER-PEASANT WRITERS AND ARTISTS

Amateur Art Flourishes in Southwest China City 18

MACHINE BUILDING INDUSTRY

Cultural Revolution Pushes Forward East China City's Machine-Building Industry 20

LAND IMPROVEMENT

Improved Farming Conditions in Mountainous Area in Northeast China Province 21

FOREIGN RELATIONS

CHINA AND AFGHANISTAN

Chinese Ambassador to Afghanistan Expresses Sympathy for Afghan People in Earthquake Area 23

CHINA AND AFRICA

Kwangtung Men's Basketball Team of China Leaves for African Countries 23

CHINA AND ARGENTINA

Argentine National Day Reception Held in Peking 24

CHINA AND BELGIUM

Chinese Ambassador Presents Credentials to King of Belgians 24

CHINA AND BRITAIN

NPC Vice Chairman Meets Young British Friends 25

CHINA AND EGYPT

Egyptian Military Delegation Leaves Peking for Home 25

Page

CHINA AND GUYANA

Guyanese Ambassador to China Gives Independence Anniversary Reception 26

CHINA AND JAPAN

Vice President of China-Japan Friendship Association Meets Japanese Friends 26

Peking Opera Troupe of Shanghai Visits Kitakyushu City 27

CHINA AND KOREA

Chinese PLA Song and Dance Ensemble Continues Visit in Korea 28

MALAYSIA

Malaysian Paper Exposes Soviet Arms Expansion 29

CHINA AND MONGOLIA

Vice Premier Ku Mu Meets Outgoing Mongolian Ambassador to China 30

CHINA AND PAKISTAN

Pakistan Prime Minister Ali Bhutto Arrives in Peking to Rousing Welcome 30

Premier Hua Kuo-feng and Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto Hold Talks 32

Chinese Premier Hua Kuo-feng Gives Grand Banquet Warmly Welcoming Pakistan Prime Minister and Begum Bhutto 32

Premier Hua Kuo-feng's Speech 37

Prime Minister Bhutto's Speech 41

CHINA AND PHILIPPINES

Philippine Social-Economic Visiting Group Feted in Peking 45

CHINA AND ROMANIA

Romanian Tourist Group Leaves Peking for Home 45

CHINA AND SOVIET UNION

Government Trade Delegation of Soviet Union Leaves Peking for Home 46

Jen-min Jih-pao Commentary Denounces Soviet Meddling in Greek Affairs 46

Commentary by Hsinhua Correspondent: Beware of Mountebanks! 47

CHINA AND SWEDEN

Wang Yeh-chiu Meets Swedish Friendly Personages 51

CHINA AND THAILAND

Chinese Badminton Association Leader Leaves for Bangkok 52

CHINA AND US

California Professor and Wife Feted in Peking 52

NATIONAL

ANNIVERSARY OF MAY 16 "CIRCULAR"

The Great Cultural Revolution Is for Carrying Out Class Struggle - by Kao Lu 53

CRITICISM OF "TAKING THREE DIRECTIVES AS KEY LINK"

From the Failure of the "February Outline" to the Bankruptcy of "Taking the Three Directives as the Key Link" 60

A Sharp Ideological Weapon for the Criticism of "Taking the Three Directives as the Key Link" - by Hung Kuang-ssu and Kan Ko 65

STUDY OF THEORY

It Is Necessary To Put Study Above All Else - by Chuang Ning 70

CRITICISM OF TENG HSIAO-P'ING

New Upsurge in Criticism of Teng Hsiao-p'ing at Tsinghua University 75

PEKING UNIVERSITY

Historic Changes in Peking University 78

Page

REVOLUTION IN LITERATURE AND ART

Theatrical, Literary Upsurge in Multi-National Sinkiang 83

FEATURE FILMS

Ch'un-Miao--Feature Film Portraying Cultural Revolution 85

PFEASANT PAINTERS

More Peasant Painters Come Forward in Struggles in Well-known Northwest China County 88

IRRIGATION PROJECTS

Key Project of Irrigation Network Completed in Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region 91

TIBET

Young Cadres Active in Tibet County 92

FOREIGN RELATIONS

CHINA AND AUSTRALIA

Australian Paper Hails China's Great Victory in Beating Back Right Deviationist Attempt to Reverse Correct Verdicts 95

Peking Reception Honors Australian Tennis Team 96

CHINA AND AUSTRIA

Austrian Ambassador to China Gives Banquet in Celebration of Austria-China Diplomatic Relations Anniversary 96

CHINA AND CONGO

Handing-over Ceremony of Limestone-crushing Plant Held in Congo 97

CHINA AND JAPAN

Chinese Vice Premier Chi Teng-kuei Meets Japanese Guests 98

Chinese Amity Association President Fetes Japanese Friend 98

Japanese Press Hails Great Victory of Anti-Right Deviationist Struggle 99

Chinese Vice Minister of Communications Meets Japanese Road Building Delegation 102

Page

Liao Cheng-chih Meets Third Visiting Group of Kyuyukai from Japan . . 102

Chinese Anti-Earthquake Technique Study Group Leaves Peking for Japan 103

CHINA AND KOREA

Chinese Table Tennis Delegation Returns Home 103

CHINA AND PAKISTAN

Chairman Mao Tsetung Meets Prime Minister Bhutto and Other Distinguished Pakistan Guests 104

Premier Hua Kuo-feng Continues Talks with Pakistan Prime Minister Bhutto 104

Vice Chairman Yeh Chien-ying Meets Distinguished Pakistan Guests 104

Pakistan Prime Minister and Begum Bhutto Visit Tsinghua University 105

Pakistan Prime Minister and Begum Bhutto Attend Peking Soiree 106

Peking Press Circles Entertains Pakistan Journalists 106

Prime Minister Bhutto's China Trip Will Further Pakistan-China Friendship, Notes Pakistan Press 107

Peking Newspaper Acclaim Pakistan Achievements 108

Premier Hua Kuo-feng Continues Talks with Prime Minister Bhutto . . . 109

Begum Bhutto Meets Chinese Women Leaders 109

China, Pakistan Badminton Teams Play Friendly Matches in Peking 110

CHINA AND SOVIET UNION

Jen-min Jih-pao Article: "Empire of Great-Russian Chauvinism" 110

Commentary by Hsinhua Correspondent: Why Is Soviet Union So Eager to Peddle "Long-Term Trade Agrements"? 113

Jen-min Jih-pao Article: Why Soviet Revisionists Change Their Tunes? 116

Page

NATIONAL

MASS LITERATURE AND ART

Criticize Teng Hsiao-p'ing for His Sinister Design in Strangling Mass Literature and ARt - by Chiang T'ien 119

CLASS STRUGGLE

Adhere to the Method of Class Analysis and Keep to the General Orientation of the Revolutionary Struggle - by Kao Hung-wen 126

STUDY OF THEORY

The Mass Movement to Study Revolutionary Theory Is Irresistible 130

ANNIVERSARY OF MAY 16 CIRCULAR

The Great Cultural Revolution Is for Waging Class Struggle - by Chin Te-hsu and Others 133

China's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution 137

STRUGGLE AGAINST TENG HSIAO-P'ING

Jen-min Jih-pao Editorial: "The Masses ARe the Real Heroes" 145

TAIWAN

Taiwan Intellectuals Awakening 148

LITERARY & ART WORKERS BY PLA MEN

PLA Amateur Literary and ARt Creation Flourishes 151

MONGOLIAN MEDICINE

Medical Experience by Mongolian Method Summed Up in Inner Mongolia . 153

PAINTING EXHIBITIONS

Shanghai Children's Painting Exhibition 154

CRUDE OIL WHARVES

100,000-Ton Crude Oil Wharf Completed in Northeast China 156

MERCURY MINING

Central China Mine Sets New Tunnelling Record 157

INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION

Sinkiang's Industry Steams Ahead 158

FISHERIES

East China Province Reports Good Spring Catches 159

FOREIGN RELATIONS

CHINA AND ALBANIA

Comrade Mehmet Shehu Receives Outgoing Chinese Ambassador to Albania 160

Comrade Carmani Gives Banquet in Honor of Outgoing Chinese Ambassador to Albania 160

Chinese Ambassador to Albania Leaves for Home 161

CHINA AND ALGERIA

Chinese and Algerian Swimmers Hold First Competition 162

CHINA AND AUSTRALIA

Australian Tennis Team Plays Friendly Matches in Peking 162

CHINA AND AUSTRIA

Chinese Ambassador to Austria Gives Reception 163

CHINA AND BURMA

Burmese Track and Field Team Visits Shanghai 164

CHINA AND EGYPT

Chinese Government Trade Delegation Leaves for Egypt 164

CHINA AND FINLAND

Finland-China Society Celebrates Founding Anniversary 165

CHINA AND JAPAN

Japanese Mitsui Trust and Banking Co. Ltd. Delegation Leaves Peking for Shanghai 166

Peking Opera Troupe of Shanghai Visits Fukuoka City of Japan 166

Japanese Youth Delegation for Japan-China Friendship Feted in Peking 167

Page

CHINA AND MALI

Chinese Vice Premier Meets Malian Delegation of National Union of Laborers 168

CHINA AND MONGOLIA

Mongolian Ambassador to China Leaves for HOme 168

CHINA AND NEPAL

Vice Premier Chen Hsi-lien Meets Nepalese Field Marshal Nir Shumsher J.B. Rana 169

Nepalese Field Marshal Feted in Peking 169

CHINA AND PAKISTAN

Premier Hua Kuo-feng and Prime Minister Bhutto Continue Talks 170

Pakistan Prime Minister and Begum Bhutto Give Return Banquet in Peking 170

Prime Minister Bhutto's Speech 173

Premier Hua Kuo-feng's Speech 177

CHINA AND PHILIPPINES

Chinese Wushu Delegation Continues Visit in Philippines 179

CHINA AND ROMANIA

The Chinese People's Liberation Army Song and Dance Ensemble Leaves Peking for Romania 179

Chinese PLA Song and Dance Ensemble Arrives in Bucharest 180

CHINA AND SUDAN

Sudanese Minister Fetes Chinese Guests 181

CHINA AND SURINAM

Joint Communique on Establishment of Diplomatic Relations between China and Surinam 181

Jen-min Jih-pao Greets Establishment of Diplomatic Relations between China and Surinam 182

CHINA AND SWEDEN

Chinese Government Trade Delegation Leaves Sweden for Home 184

Page

CHINA AND TURKEY

New Chinese Ambassador to Turkey Leaves Peking for Post 184

CHINA AND VENEUELA

Chinese Gymnasts Give Premiere in Venezuela 185

CHINA AND WEST GERMANY

Ambassador Pauls Gives Reception in Celebration of Anniversary of Federal Republic of Germany 185

CHINA AND YEMEN (YAR)

Chinese Ambassador to Yemen Arab Republic Gives Reception for Chinese Medical Personnel 186

CHINA AND ZAIRE

Zairian President Receives Chinese Medical Team 186

NATIONAL

REVOLUTION IN LITERATURE AND ART

Revolution in Literature and Art and Dictatorship of the Proletariat 187

WORKER-PEASANT CADRES

The Principle of Stressing the Selection of Cadres from Among the Workers and Peasants Brooks No Alteration - by Yen Ch'ün 195

STRUGGLE AGAINST RIGHT-DEVIATION WIND TO REVERSE VERDICTS

Strengthen Party Leadership To Beat Back the Right-Deviation Wind to Reverse Verdicts 202

GREAT PROLETARIAN CULTURAL REVOLUTION

Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution--Good Sweep of Exploiting Class Ideology 207

STUDY OF MARXISM-LENINISM-MAO TSETUNG THOUGHT

Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought Popularized in China 211

Page

NATIONAL ACROBATIC FESTIVAL

China's National Acrobatic Festival Closes 216

AMATEUR LITERARY AND ART ACTIVITIES

Mass Amateur Literary and Art Activities in North China County 218

EXTRACURRICULAR PROGRAMS FOR PRIMARY AND MIDDLE SCHOOL PUPILS

Extracurricular Programs for Peking's Primary and Middle School Pupils 219

DISCOVERY OF ARABLE AND PASTURE LAND

Over 13 Million Hectares of Arable and Pasture Land Discovered in Northeast China Province 222

FOREIGN RELATIONS

CHINA AND EGYPT

Chinese Government Trade Delegation Arrives in Cairo 224

20th Anniversary of Establishment of China-Egypt Diplomatic Relations Marked at Chinese Embassy in Cairo . . . . . .

CHINA AND IRAN

Chinese Football Delegation Leaves Peking for Teheran 225

CHINA AND KOREA

Peking Banquet in Honor of Korean Broadcasting and Television Delegation 225

Chinese PLA Song and Dance Ensemble Visits Kaesong 226

Korean Diving Delegation Leaves Peking for Home 227

CHINA AND PAKISTAN

Chinese and Pakistan Governments Sign Agreement on Scientific, Technical Cooperation and Protocol to Agreement on Economic, Technical Cooperation 227

Joint Communique of People's Republic of China and Islamic Republic of Pakistan 228

Page

Prime Minister Ali Bhutto Gives Press Conference in Peking 232

Pakistan Prime Minister Ali Bhutto Leaves Peking for Home 232

Chinese Air Force Commander Gives Banquet for Pakistan Air Force Goodwill Delegation 234

CHINA AND SUDAN

Chinese Ambassador Gives Reception on Art Troupe's Visit to Sudan 234

Chinese Art Troupe Leaves Khartoum for Gezira Province 235

Chinese Government Delegation and Art Troupe Feted in Khartoum 236

Sudanese President Receives Chinese Government Delegation 236

CHINA AND VIETNAM

Peking Banquet in Honor of Delegation from Vietnam 237

NATIONAL

CRITICISM OF REGULATIONS ON INDUSTRIAL MANAGEMENT

A Set of "Regulations" for Accelerating the Restoration of Capitalism - by Lü Ta 238

T'IENANMEN SQUARE INCIDENT

Use Revolutionary Public Opinion To Shatter Counter-Revolutionary Public Opinion - by T'ien Lan-yu and Liu Chin-hui 247

Angrily Denounce Counter-Revolutionary Sinister Poems 250

BAREFOOT DOCTORS

On the "Theory of Barefoot Doctors Wearing Shoes" 252

Distortion with an Ulterior Object in View - by Sha Ch'ing 257

CHILDREN'S DAY

Jubilant International Children's Day Celebrations in Peking 259

Page

Peking Press Marks International Children's Day 261

Peking Children Grow Healthily 262

REVOLUTION IN EDUCATION

Tremendous Successes in China's Countryside Education Revolution 265

CADRES

Young Leading Cadres Emerged During Great Cultural Revolution 271

Cultural Revolution Educates China's Cadres 272

WOMEN

A Woman Captain 277

COAL MINING AND FARM PRODUCTION

Socialist New Mining Area 279

EARTHQUAKE

Strong Earthquakes Hit Western Yunnan, Southwest China 280

FOREIGN RELATIONS

CHINA AND AFGHANISTAN

Afghan Government Trade Delegation Arrives in Peking 282

CHINA AND AUSTRALIA

Australian Tennis Team Gives Reciprocal Banquet in Peking 282

CHINA AND BANGLADESH

Vice President of Chinese Amity Association Meets and Fetes Bangladesh Friendship Delegation 283

CHINA AND COMOROS

Comoros Government Delegation Arrives in Peking 283

Peking Banquet in Honor of Comorian Government Delegation 284

Chinese Minister of Foreign Trade Li Chiang, Vice Foreign Minister Ho Ying Hold Talks with Comorian Minister of Internal Affairs Salim Himidi 286

Page

CHINA AND DENMARK

Danish Guests Feted in Peking 286

CHINA AND EUROPE

Huan Hsiang Presents Letters of Credence to EEC Leading Members 287

CHINA AND GHANA

Secretary of Supreme Military Council of Ghana Arrives in Peking 287

CHINA AND JAPAN

Japanese Trade Circles Friendship Delegation Leaves Peking for Home 288

Delegation of Japanese National Council for Japan-China Friendship Leaves Peking for Home 288

CHINA AND KOREA

President Kim Il Sung Receives Outgoing Chinese Ambassador 289

CHINA AND NEPAL

Jen-min Jih-pao Editorial Warmly Welcomes His Majesty King Birendra 289

Feature Story: Promote Friendship by Learning from Each Other 291

CHINA AND PAKISTAN

Pakistan Air Force Goodwill Delegation Leaves Shenyang for Kirin 292

Pakistan Air Force Goodwill Delegation Back in Peking 293

CHINA AND ROMANIA

Chinese PLA Song and Dance Ensemble Gives Premiere in Bucharest 294

CHINA AND SOVIET UNION

Commentary by Hsinhua Correspondent: A Rare Find -- Self-Portrayal of Hegemonism 295

Page

CHINA AND SUDAN

Chinese Government Delegation Leaves Khartoum for Home 299

CHINA AND TUNISIA

Tunisian Ambassador to China Gives National Day Reception in Peking 300

CHINA AND UN

Fourth Session of UNCTAD Closes 301

Chinese Delegates Leave for Council Meeting in UN Maritime Consultative Organization in London 304

CHINA AND US

US "Call" Weekly Explains China's Criticism of Teng Hsiao-p'ing 304

CHINA AND UPPER VOLTA

Chinese Journalist Group Concludes Visit to Upper Volta 306

CHINA AND WEST GERMANY

Chinese Vice Premier Ku Mu Meets Ambassador of Federal Republic of Germany to China 307

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* NATIONAL *
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REVOLUTION IN LITERATURE AND ART

Deepen Criticism of Teng Hsiao-p'ing, Persevere in the Revolution in Literature and Art

- a study of the "Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art"

by

Ch'u Lan (初瀾)

(Peking Jen-min Jih-pao, May 23, 1976)

Thirty-four years ago, in his brilliant work "Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art," Chairman Mao incisively explained that in essence the struggle between the two classes and the two lines in literature and art centered on the question "for whom?". He indicated the orientation of literature and art serving the workers, peasants and soldiers and advanced a great militant program for the transformation of literature and art and the world at large in accordance with the proletarian world outlook.

Today, in the excellent situation in which we have won great victories in the struggle to criticize Teng Hsiao-p'ing and beat back the Right-deviation wind to reverse verdicts, we warmly celebrate the 10th anniversary of the great proletarian cultural revolution, re-study this brilliant work of Chairman Mao's and further grasp Chairman Mao's teaching "We can mold the Party and the world only in the image of the proletarian vanguard." This strengthens our determination to deepen our criticism of Teng Hsiao-p'ing, persevere in the revolution in literature and art and continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The "rectification" of literature and art was given much weight in Teng Hsiao-p'ing's plan of action to "carry out all-round rectification" which was aimed at reversing verdicts and restoring capitalism. But he made no mention of rectification during all the 17 pre-cultural revolution years when the revisionist line dominated the field of literature and art. Instead, he nonsensically

said: "Revisionism does not occupy the most important position, and literary and art circles are correct under the leadership of the Party." As the No. 2 chieftain in Liu Shao-ch'i's bourgeois headquarters, he gave the green light to feudal, capitalist and revisionist literature and art; he sheltered and protected the Party bourgeoisie in literary and art circles like the "Four Fellows" and openly prettified as "Party leadership" the bourgeois dictatorship exercised by the "Demon King Palace" and the former Ministry of Culture. But today, through the great cultural revolution, when Chairman Mao's revolutionary line on literature and art is being thoroughly carried out, in model revolutionary theatrical works are resplendent and socialist literature and art are flourishing, Teng Hsiao-p'ing has come out in the open to slander that there is at present the so-called "question of the line" in Party leadership over literary and art work, and clamor for the "rectification" of literature and art with his revisionist program and line. His "rectification" of literature and art means to repress the proletariat on behalf of the bourgeoisie inside and outside the Party, to cancel out proletarian revolutionary literature and art represented by the model revolutionary theatrical works and to nullify the proletariat's leadership in the field of literature and art to enable him and his like to remold it in accordance with their world outlook, to restore the bourgeoisie's monopoly over it and to prepare public opinion for a capitalist restoration.

Venomous attacks on the model revolutionary theatrical works and negation of the achievements of the revolution in literature and art in order to take over these ideological positions for the bourgeoisie -- this in essence constitutes Teng Hsiao-p'ing's "rectification" of literature and art.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "This question of 'for whom' is fundamental; it is a question of principle." "Literature and art for the landlord class are feudal literature and art," "literature and art for the bourgeoisie are bourgeois literature and art" and "all our literature and art are for the masses of the people, and in the first place for the workers, peasants and soldiers; they are created for the workers, peasants and soldiers and are for their use."

Each work of literature and art, ancient or modern, Chinese or foreign, serves a specific class and its political line. If literary and art works do not portray the workers, peasants and soldiers and reflect socialist revolution and construction, these works cannot be of service to the workers, peasants and soldiers.

In the past, the chieftains of the sinister line on literature and art also sent out theatrical troupes to give performances at the grassroots, but they performed for the poor and lower-middle peasants A Young Widow Visits Her Husband's Grave, for the worker comrades The Drunken Imperial Concubine, and for the PLA fighters A Soldier Bidding His Wife Farewell at the Dwelling Cave. How could these serve the workers, peasants and soldiers? Obviously they went against the fundamental interests of the workers, peasants and soldiers, undermined the foundations of socialism and gave the exploiting classes which had been overthrown politically the opportunity to exercise dictatorship in the field of literature and art. The chieftains of the

sinister line on literature and art also talked about popularization and raising standards but they provided what was needed and could be readily accepted by the landlord and capitalist classes, not what was needed and could be accepted readily by the workers, peasants and soldiers. Their intention was to impose feudal, bourgeois and revisionist literature and art on the workers, peasants and soldiers. Their idea of raising standards was not "raising the level of literature and art in the direction in which the workers, peasants and soldiers are themselves advancing, in the direction in which the proletariat is advancing" but "raising the workers, peasants and soldiers to the 'heights' of the feudal classes, the bourgeoisie or the petty-bourgeois intellectuals." It was, in fact, aimed at continuing to poison and enslave the workers and peasants in accordance with the world outlook and demands and wishes of the landlord and bourgeois classes.

The revolution in literature and art exemplified by the model revolutionary theatrical works is the brilliant practice of remolding literature and art in accordance with the proletarian world outlook under the guidance of Chairman Mao's "Talks" and along Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in art and literature. The model revolutionary theatrical works and the experience gained in creating them have in the main settled the fundamental question of art and literature for the workers, peasants and soldiers and how this purpose can be achieved. These works have in principle drawn a clear line marking them off from the old art and literature of the exploiting classes with regard to the world outlook they embody and the methods by which they are created. They have unfurled a scroll of epic paintings of the history of the Chinese revolution. They have created brilliant models of proletarian heroes. They have revealed the salient features of class struggle and two-line struggle and the law governing these struggles in different historical periods of the revolution. And they have eulogized the lofty aspirations of the proletarians dedicated to the struggle for communism. They are successful examples of the perception and transformation of the world from the proletarian world outlook in literary and art creation. This brilliant success in the revolution in literature and art has brought about a tremendous change in literature and art, that is, setting right reversals of history.

In the fierce struggle between the two classes and the two lines on the literature and art front, the bourgeoisie inside and outside the Party has met with utter defeat. But they are unreconciled to this defeat. In their view, the new is not as good as the old, the present is not as good as the past. They dream of restoring their former domination over literature and art through the sinister revisionist line.

Teng Hsiao-p'ing's "rectification" of literature and art represents precisely this restorationist wish of the bourgeoisie inside and outside the Party. He slandered the model revolutionary theatrical works as "letting a lone flower blossom." He cursed Ch'un Miao, a socialist film which draws on the experience of the model revolutionary theatrical works, as "ultra-Left." He attacked the spare-time art and literary activities of the workers, peasants and soldiers which were inspired by the model revolutionary theatrical works as a hindrance to production and wanted to bring them to a halt. But with all these eliminated, what were to take their place? The substitutes

he offered were "old plays" which "displayed the wisdom of emperors and princes, generals and ministers" and praised the gifted scholars, beauties, demons and monsters. Last year, he once again harped on his old tune, and publicized the reactionary fallacy that "the old plays have been staged for many years, and the revolution is still not a success." This further shows that for the sake of paving the way for the comeback of the bourgeois "home-going contingent" and restoring capitalism, Teng Hsiao-p'ing inevitably have to give the green light to feudalist, capitalist and revisionist literature and art and go all out to create counter-revolutionary public opinion.

Teng Hsiao-p'ing's efforts to revive the "old plays" and his hatred for the model revolutionary theatrical works have given us a lesson by negative example, thus further deepening our understanding of the exemplary strength and the militant role of the model theatrical works in criticizing the bourgeoisie and eulogizing the proletariat.

The theatrical basis for the creation of these model revolutionary theatrical works is the Marxist theory of class struggle. These works penetratingly criticize the theory of human nature peddled by the landlord and bourgeois classes, the theory of the dying out of class struggle and its manifestation as the theory of "no conflicts" in literature and art. Contrary to the revisionist theory of the "deepening of realism" and the theory of the "broad road of realism," these works combine revolutionary realism with revolutionary romanticism. Contrary to the theory of "middle characters" and "the merging of various trends as the spirit of the age," these revolutionary works take as their basic task the creation of models of proletarian heroes. In short, these model revolutionary theatrical works warmly acclaim the victories of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and reflect the historic demand of the proletariat to mold the world in accordance with its own world outlook. In a concentrated way and through artistic presentation, they greatly encourage the people ideologically and move them deeply.

It is therefore not difficult to see why Teng Hsiao-p'ing, chieftain of the bourgeoisie inside and outside the Party, attempted in high frenzy to kill these model revolutionary theatrical works, red blossoms that have withstood severe frost and snow, why he wanted to stamp out these thriving young shoots of socialist literature and art and destroy the successful fruits of the revolution in literature and art.

The first object of Teng Hsiao-p'ing's "rectification" in literature and art, as in his "rectification" in other fields of work, was to "seize the leading bodies."

We know that the birth of the model revolutionary theatrical productions are victories won by the revolutionary artists and writers with the care and attention of Chairman Mao and under the leadership of the proletariat. These victories were won in the struggle against the Party capitalist-roaders who had entrenched themselves in the leading departments of literature and art and against the counter-revolutionary revisionist line in literature and art. Through this arduous struggle, we seized back the leadership over literature and art usurped by the Party capitalist-roaders and smashed the

revisionist line that had for 17 years dominated the field of literature and art. Our literary and art contingent took on a new look.

Therefore Teng Hsiao-p'ing regarded as enemies the new leadership and the literary and art workers who have come to the fore during the great cultural revolution. By despicable means, he attacked them and tried to oust them.

In the view of Teng Hsiao-p'ing and his like, the creations of the proletariat are unacceptable, and only those of the bourgeoisie are worthwhile. It is necessary to rely on them to step out and put in order the situation already in a mess. This "pose," struck by the person who played the role of commander of the bourgeoisie, won loud approval from both the old and new bourgeoisie, inside and outside the Party, and the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and rightists as well. At the same time, he also created political rumors through his "Teng's rumor-mongering company," and instigated some people to write letters of false accusation to discredit the excellent situation of the revolution in literature and art. He cast forth all kinds of absurd arguments for the reactionary "encirclement and suppression" of revolutionary model theatrical works and the experience in the creation of such works. What is particularly vicious is that he directed the spearhead of attack at our great leader Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee headed by him. Nothing was considered to be too extreme in his intrigues and conspiracies all of which were for undermining and opposing further implementation of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in literature and art, to splitting and breaking up the revolutionary literary and art contingent and preparing public opinion for the bourgeoisie to seize power in literary and art circles.

The struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie over the issue of occupation, seizure of power and counter-seizure of power and restoration and counter-restoration in the field of literature and art strikingly presses home the fact that the Party capitalist-roaders do indeed constitute the main force in the bourgeoisie's test of strength with the proletariat and in its attempt to restore capitalism throughout the historical period of socialism. They are indeed its political representatives in its attempt to transform the Party and the world according to its world outlook. We must deepen our understanding of the fact that the "capitalist-roaders are still on the capitalist road" is a historical phenomenon which will last for a long time to come and we therefore must stand ready to wage a prolonged struggle till it ceases to exist. Chairman Mao teaches us: "Without struggle, there is no progress." "Can 800 million people manage without struggle?!"

In commemorating the anniversary of Chairman Mao's "Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art," we are glad to see that the great militant program formulated by Chairman Mao 34 years ago to mold literature and art and the world according to the proletarian world outlook is in the course of being gradually realized. We have won a great victory, but the struggle is by no means over. We must deepen our criticism of Teng Hsiao-p'ing, repulse the Right-deviation wind to reverse verdicts and persevere in the revolution in literature and art.

Literature and art are of vital importance in the forming of public opinion. And in the sphere of literature and art, class struggle is reflected in a highly sensitive way. When one sinister line has been rooted out, another is sure to

emerge. So we must go on with our struggle. In the course of waging this great struggle, we shall meet with twists and turns and many obstacles. Nevertheless, the proletariat will mold the world and its literature and art to suit the proletarian world outloook; it is perfectly able to do so.

Let us advance victoriously in the direction pointed out by Chairman Mao in his "Talks"!

* * *

Model Revolutionary Plays Constitute the Hallmark of the Proletarian Revolution in Literature and Art in Our Country

by

Hung I-ta (洪毅达)

(Peking Kuang-ming Jih-pao, March 21, 1976)

Around summer last year, that unrepentant capitalist-roader in the Party not only vigorously whipped up the Right-deviation wind to reverse verdicts in the educational and scientific technical circles, but also stretched his hand to the literary and art circles to fan the flame, start rumors and make trouble. For a while, a chilly wind blew everywhere in the literary and art circles, and dark clouds overhung the land. An obvious feature of his practicing Right-deviation reversal of verdicts in literary and art circles was that he first applied the scalpel on the model revolutionary plays. He painted a black picture of the excellent situation with "orioles singing, swallows darting everywhere" prevailing in the revolution in literature and art since the great proletarian cultural revolution. He said that this would not work and that was not good and anyway "the present is not as good as the past." Why was this so? According to him, this was caused by the model revolutionary plays which "blossom alone." As soon as this fallacy was cast forth, the evil view that "the model plays hinder the development of literature and art" immediately sprang out from a dark corner.

Why is the unrepentant capitalist-roader in the Party so hostile to the model revolutionary plays? This is because the model revolutionary plays have paved the way for pointing out the orientation of and set an example to the proletarian revolution in literature and art and have become the brilliant hallmark of the proletarian revolution in literature and art. They have basically touched on the interests of the landlord and bourgeois classes and hit the sore spot of the capitalist-roaders in the Party.

The proletarian revolution in literature and art in our country is determined by the fact that classes, class contradictions and class struggles exist in the historical period of socialism. It is the inevitable outcome of the struggle between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism, and an important measure for the proletariat to prevent capitalist restoration and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat under the guidance of the Party's basic line. The model revolutionary plays have become the hallmark of the proletarian revolution in literature and art primarily because they are the path-breakers in this literary and art revolution.

Before the great proletarian cultural revolution, in order to restore capitalism, Liu Shao-ch'i and his ilk made use of literature and art to create counter-revolutionary public opinion. Under the control of the revisionist black line in literature and art, poisonous weeds grew luxuriantly in literary and art circles, emperors and princes, generals and ministers, gifted scholars and beauties occupied the stage and demons and monsters of all descriptions

bluffed and blustered. There was, everywhere, the noxious air of laying more stress on the present than on the past, favoring the dead, neglecting and living, worshipping things of foreign origin and finding fault with things of Chinese origin thus thus seriously sabotaging the socialist economic base and endangering the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In light of this serious situation in literary and art circles, our great leader Chairman Mao personally initiated and led one important struggle after the other on the literary and art front. These struggles effectively dealt blows to the bourgeois forces and accelerated the development of socialist literature and art. However, due to the sabotage and resistance of Liu Shao-ch'i and his ilk, a counter-revolutionary revisionist black line in literature and art which ran counter to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in literature and art all along exercised dictatorship over us in the literary and art circles.

In 1963, Chairman Mao sharply pointed out, "The social and economic base has changed, but the arts as part of the superstructure, which serve this base, still remain a serious problem. Hence we should proceed with investigation and study and attend to this matter in earnest."

Under Chairman Mao's call, the proletariat first initiated revolution in the most obdurate fortresses most rigidly controlled by the bourgeoisie, such as Peking opera, ballet and symphonic music. After waging a soul-stirring battle to clear away obstacles and storm heavily fortified positions, one revolutionary model play after the other was created, and on the enemy's damaged rampant walls was hoisted the bright red flag of the proletarian revolution in literature and art. It proclaimed to people, "The hard ice has been broken, the navigation route has been opened, and the road has been pointed out." Since even the territories of Peking opera, ballet and symphonic music could be captured, the proletariat was even more confident of the all-round occupation of the literary and art battlefront. The model revolutionary plays became the vanguard of the proletarian revolution in literature and art. Like the intrepid petrels, they predicted the approach of the violent storm of the great proletarian cultural revolution.

After the great proletarian cultural revolution, the proletariat has taken over leadership in literature and art. Revolutionary literature and art represented by model revolutionary plays have become powerful ideological weapons for consolidating the socialist economic base and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Day in and day out, they dig graves for capitalism. Precisely because of this, the model revolutionary plays are bound to become a thorn in the flesh of the bourgeoisie and all exploiting classes. The unrepentant capitalist-roader in the Party slanders the model plays in a hundred ways and refuses to see them. This is precisely the inevitable manifestation of his reactionary class nature.

The model revolutionary plays have become the hallmark of the proletarian revolution in literature and art also because they are splendid examples of revolutionary literature and art and models in the practice of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in literature and art. Their basic experience is of universal significance to the creation of revolutionary literature and art.

The basic task of socialist literature and art is to mold colossal and perfect images of proletarian heroes. This is the task assigned to proletarian literature and art by history as well as the pressing demand of hundreds of millions of laboring people. This is related to the major question of who is the master of literature and art and which class is served by literature and art. The model revolutionary plays has successfully accomplished this task. They have molded dazzling artistic images of proletarian heroes to become masters of the literary and art stage, and to reverse once again the history which has been reversed for several thousand years by the landlord and bourgeois classes. This is a world-shaking transformation in the history of literature and art, and from then on a new era of proletarian literature and art is unveiled. Its influence is far-reaching and inestimable. How can the representatives of the exploiting classes feel at ease when they see the literary and art stage occupied by proletarian heroes who lord it over the world? They are naturally frightened and "do not like to see this."

Taking the Party's basic line as a guide to reflect class struggle and the two-line struggle is another important experience provided by the model revolutionary plays. Revolutionary works of literature and art are required to correctly reflect the objective fact of the existence of class struggle and the two-line struggle in the historical period of socialism, profoundly reflect the objective law of the inevitable triumph of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie and of Marxism over revisionism, and in particular, to reflect the new characteristics of this class struggle -- the struggle against capitalist-roaders in the Party under the dictatorship of the proletariat. This naturally evokes opposition from the bourgeoisie.

The aim of that unrepentant capitalist-roader in the Party in casting forth the revisionist program with "the three directives as the key link" is to negate the key link of class struggle and restore capitalism. Speaking in terms of the revolution in literature and art, it is a vain attempt to remove the proletarian soul and practice class reconciliation, so as to lure literature and art onto the evil path of revisionism to serve his capitalist restoration. Instigated by so-called "taking three directives as the key link," some people wildly attack this important experience of model revolutionary plays in reflecting class struggle and the two-line struggle, slander it as an "inhibiting magic phrase" to "restrict the creative spirit" and as the "cause of similarity" in works, and talk nonsense saying that "in life, there is not necessarily class struggle everywhere," that "the emphasis on depicting class struggle is somewhat absolute," and so on. These fallacies have proved from the negative side that this experience of model revolutionary plays has precisely hit the mortal wound of the capitalist-roaders and is an important principle which our proletarian works of literature and art must uphold. We must continue to take class struggle as the key link, and strive to reflect the major theme of the struggle between two classes, the two roads and the two lines, so as to turn literature and art into a powerful ideological weapon for the proletariat to exercise all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie.

The experience of model revolutionary plays is all-sided and rich. For example, it also insists on the method of creation based on the combination of revolutionary realism with revolutionary romanticism, adheres to the

policies of "making the past serve the present, and making foreign things serve China" and "letting a hudnred flowers bloom and weeding out the old to let the new emerge," stresses that writers and artists must integrate themselves with workers, peasants and soldiers, diligently train their basic skills, and through the struggle build a contingent of proletarian writers and artists who dare to make revolution and wage struggle.

Over the past few years, with the proletarian revolution in literature and art developing in-depth, and with various forms of art diligently studying the experiences of model revolutionary plays, revolutionary changes have occurred or are in the course of occurring. Spurred by model revolutionary plays, the situation on the literary and art front is excellent. With the vigorous development of mass activities in creation and performance, good and relatively good works emerge in great numbers, and the army of writers and artists with workers, peasants and soldiers as the mainstay rapidly grow to maturity. A hundred flowers bloom in the domain of socialist literature and art and the garden is full of spring with pleasing scenes.

That unrepentant capitalist-roader in the Party maliciously attacks the revolutionary model plays. This has precisely exposed his reactionary stand for restoring capitalism.

Before the great proletarian cultural revolution, it was precisely this unrepentant capitalist-roader who actively embellished the old literary and art circles under the control of Liu Shao-ch'i's revisionist black line in literature and art, attacked the revolution in Peking opera, clamored that "he is not fond of watching" model revolutionary plays, and advocated that it was necessary "to reveal the wisdom of emperors and princes, generals and ministers." The matter is even clearer in light of his recent saying that "as long as people say that you have brought about restoration, your work is done." His negation of model revolutionary plays which exemplify the proletarian revolution in literature and art means the complete negation of the revolution in literature and art, and is also for negating the great cultural revolution. His aim in negating the revolution in literature and art is to vainly attempt to "reverse" literature and art once again to the seventeen years long revisionist black line in literature and art before the great cultural revolution, let emperors and princes, generals and ministers, gifted scholars and beauties, monsters and demons form a "home-going contingent" in order to stage a comeback and once again occupy the literary and art stage, so as to turn literature and art into their tools for creating public opinion for restoring capitalism. This is an important component of his general deployment for reversing the verdicts of and settling accounts with the great cultural revolution, launching counter-attacks in revenge, "reversing" the wheel of history and practicing restoration and regression. Our answer to the Right-deviation wind to reverse verdicts whipped up by that unrepentant capitalist-roader in the Party is to fight! We must thoroughly expose their criminal conspiracy in attacking model revolutionary plays, carry through to the end the proletarian revolution in literature and art exemplified by model revolutionary plays and consolidate and develop the fruits of victory of the great proletarian cultural revolution.

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ANNIVERSARY OF MAY 16 CIRCULAR

Growing Up and Advancing in Struggle

by

Chiang Hai-yün (江 海云) of the Propaganda Department of the Szechwan Provincial Committee

(Peking Jen-min Jih-pao, May 17, 1976)

The May 16, 1966 "Circular" formulated under the auspices of the great leader Chairman Mao himself is a brilliant Marxist document. Today, in the struggle to criticize Teng Hsiao-p'ing and beat back the Right-deviation wind to reverse verdicts, as we study again the "Circular," and look back over the ten years' course of struggle of the great cultural revolution, we are even more confident of victory in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In these ten years, as an ordinary communist and a Red Guard fighter who took part in the breath-taking and soul-stirring class struggle against Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-p'ing, I was boundlessly inspired and happy and was greatly tempered and educated.

At the initial stage of the great proletarian cultural revolution, making use of the power in their hands, Liu Shao-ch'i and Teng Hsiao-p'ing hurriedly cast forth a bourgeoisie reactionary line in a vain attempt to crush the stirring and seething great proletarian cultural revolution. Under the support of the broad masses of revolutionaries, I put up posters criticizing the revisionist line. The working unit carrying out the bourgeois reactionary line of Liu shao-ch'i and Teng Hsiao-p'ing slandered this as an "anti-Party act" and threatened to expel me from the Party. Like me, many revolutionary rebels were labeled by the bourgeois reactionary line of Liu Shao-ch'i and Teng Hsiao-p'ing as "counter-revolutionaries" and "anti-Party elements." Nevertheless, we heroically waged struggle under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line.

I can never forget the happy occasion when I saw Chairman Mao for the first time on August 31, 1966. Chairman Mao warmly waved to us on the T'ienanmen Tower. As I looked at his kind face, I was resolved that no matter how stormy the journey was, the revolutionary Red Guards would follow the path you started and carry through to the end the continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Chairman Mao's personal reception aroused and encouraged the Red Guards to fight valiantly. Whenever we came across difficulties, the mere thought of this happy moment would give us unlimited strength. At every crucial point of our struggle, it was always Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee headed by him who suported and encouraged us, and pointed out to us the direction to go forward.

Under the leadership of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee headed by him and inspired by the "Circular," tens of millions of the revolutionary masses rebelled, waged struggle and made criticism against the bourgeoisie inside the Party, thus toppling the two bourgeoisie headquarters of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao.

Teng Hsiao-p'ing, the No. 2 boss in the bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-ch'i, was criticized by the masses in the great cultural revolution. He talked at length about his desire "to repent and turn over a new leaf," and promised that he would "never reverse the verdicts." However, once he resumed work, with hatred grown tenfold and frenzy a hundredfold, he attacked the proletariat with a program backed by public opinion /sic/ in a well organized and planned manner. He vainly attempted to reverse the verdicts of and settle scores with the great cultural revolution. Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-p'ing are precisely persons like Khrushchev pointed out in the "Circular." It is absolutely necessary to wage firm struggle against this type of capitalist-roaders, in order to persist in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Tempered by struggle, we have grown to maturity in struggle. The ten years of the great cultural revolution have enabled me to grow up from a Red Guard to a Party cadre. I must firmly bear in mind what Chairman Mao warns us, "The present great cultural revolution is only the first, there will inevitably be many more in the future." "Will there be need for revolution a hundred years from now? Will there still be need for revolution a thousand years from now? There is always need for revolution. There are always sections of the people who feel themselves oppressed; junior officials, students, workers, peasants and soldiers don't like big shots oppressing them. That's why they want revolution. Will contradictions no longer be seen ten thousand years from now? Why not? They will still be seen." We must be mentally prepared for a long battle with the bourgeoisie inside the Party. We Red Guards are children of the great cultural revolution. Here lies the beginning of our participation in the great struggle and our first step on the revolutionary journey. We must carry forward the glorious tradition of the Red Guards, fight on the forefront of the struggle to criticize Teng Hsiao-p'ing, hit back at the Right-deviation wind to reverse verdicts, and track down the counter-revolutionaries, defend and develop the great fruits of the great proletarian cultural revolution and carry through to the end the continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat!

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A Brilliant Document That Forever Inspires Us To Advance in Victory

by

the Shanghai Municipal Federation of Trade Unions

(Peking Jen-min Jih-pao, May 17, 1976)

In the joyful days to commemorate the 10th anniversary of the publication of the CCP Central Committee May 16 "Circular," formulated under the auspices of Chairman Mao himself, the publication of Chairman Mao's latest instructions greatly inspired us of the working class in Shanghai.

The decade of the great proletarian cultural revolution is a decade in which hundreds of millions of the people throughout the country followed the great leader Chairman Mao to advance victoriously in the course of struggle. It is a decade in which the great cultural revolution has won great victories.

Practice in these ten years since the great cultural revolution has fully born out that the theories, the line, and the general and specific policies of the great proletarian cultural revolution put forward by Chairman Mao in the "Circular" are extremely brilliant and totally correct. By following exactly the course pointed out by Chairman Mao in the "Circular," we have successively smashed the two bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao, and won one great victory after another. Today, as we study once again the "Circular," a brilliant Marxist document, study the important article of the Jen-min Jih-pao, Hung-ch'i magazine and Chieh-fang-chün Pao entitled "The Great Cultural Revolution Will Shine Forever," and recall the combat course of the great proletarian cultural revolution, we are inspired the more to carry through to the end, with our confidence enhanced a hundredfold and with high fighting spirits, the struggle to criticize Teng Hsiao-p'ing and hit back at the Right-deviation wind to reverse verdicts.

Chairman Mao points out in the "Circular": "Those representatives of the bourgeoisie who have sneaked into the Party, the government, the army and various spheres of culture are a bunch of counter-revolutionary revisionists. Once conditions are ripe, they will seize political power and turn the dictatorship of the proletariat into a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie." After the great proletarian cultural revolution, we have a more profound understanding of this brilliant and wise assertion by Chairman Mao.

Looking back, when the surging tide of the great cultural revolution just started, we of the working class in Shanghai responded to Chairman Mao's great call, held high the banner of "it is justified to rebel against the reactionaries" rose heroically to rebel against the bourgeoisie headquarters of Liu Shao-ch'i, and were ruthlessly suppressed by the bourgeois reactionary line of Liu Shao-ch'i and Teng Hsiao-p'ing. After going through twists and turns and experiencing setbacks in struggle, we come to realize that "we couldn't do without the great proletarian cultural revolution."

For a period of time, the bouregois headquarters of Liu Shao-ch'i was in control of the Party, cultural and propaganda work and many lcoal administrations. Leadership in the great majority of factories and enterprises were not in the hands of genuine Marxists, or the working masses. We of the proletariat had to recapture that part of leadership usurped by them.

Led and supported by the proletarian headquarters headed by Chairman Mao, we joined forces with the broad masses of revolutionaries, revolutionary cadres and revolutionary intellectuals, and started the struggle to seize power from a handful of capitalist-roaders within the Party. We whipped up the great storm of the January Revolution repulsed the evil wind of economism and tightly grasped the destiny of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the destiny of the great proletarian cultural revolution and the destiny of socialist economy in our own hands. Chairman Mao summed up in good time the experience of the storm of the January Revolution in Shanghai, and called on the whole nation: "Proletarian revolutionaries, unite and seize power from the handful of Party persons in power taking the capitalist road!" Thus, the complete collapse of the bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-ch'i was proclaimed.

Today, as we study once again the "Circular" and review the combat course of the great cultural revolution, we understand more thoroughly that throughout the entire historical period of socialism, there are at all times classes, class contradictions and class struggle, that the principal contradiction is still the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, that the main danger is revisionism and that the target of the revolution is the bourgeoisie and the main target the capitalist-roaders. Chairman Mao points out: "Without struggle, there is no progress." "Can 800 million people manage without struggle?!"

In the past ten years, we waged struggle against Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-p'ing. All these struggles show that the bourgeoisie is right in the Communist Party. Chairman Mao points out: "You are making the socialist revolution and yet don't know where the bourgeoisie is. It is right in the Communist Party -- those in power taking the capitalist road. The capitalist-roaders are still on the capitalist road."

Soon after Teng Hsiao-p'ing, the arch unrepentant capitalist-roader within the Party, resumed work, he hurriedly leaped forth and rabidly attacked the proletariat with hatred grown tenfold and frenzy grown a hundredfold. He cast forth the revisionist program with "the three directives as the key link" and pushed a counter-revolutionary revisionist line. He took the lead in whipping up the Right-deviation wind to reverse the verdicts of the great cultural revolution and to settle scores with it. A handful of class enemies who stirred up the counter-revolutionary political incident at the T'ienanmen Square openly raised the banner in support of Teng Hsiao-p'ing with the aim of casting him in the role of China's Nagy. All these clearly show that the new and old bourgeoisie and a handful of class enemies in society invariably look upon the bourgeoisie inside the Party as their political representatives, and such a capitalist-roader within the Party as Teng Hsiao-p'ing centrally represents all their hopes and interests. Because such a person as Teng Hsiao-p'ing

dons the cloak of a "communist," and has usurped a very great part of power in the Party and state, he is even more fierce in the restoration of capitalism than the capitalists. Just as Chairman Mao points out in the "Circular": "Their struggle with us is a life-and-death one, and any equality is out of the question. Therefore, our struggle against them also can only be a life-and-death struggle."

The struggle to criticize Teng Hsiao-p'ing and to hit back at the Right-deviation wind to reverse verdicts has won great victories. But the struggle is not over. We must continue to deepen the criticism of Teng Hsiao-p'ing, hit back at the Right-deviation wind to reverse verdicts, resolutely deal crushing blows to all counter-revolutionary subversive activities, and win even greater victories.

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WORKERS' COLLEGES

More Workers' Colleges for Northeast China Industrial Province

(NCNA-English Shenyang, May 26, 1976)

china's heavy industrial base, liaoning province, has increased the number of its workers' colleges from 600 last year to more than 1,600 this year.

run by industrial, communications, financial and trade enterprises, these colleges now have a total enrolment of 86,000 against 20,000 last year. some 18,200 worker-students have graduated, four times the number of graduates from the 20 ordinary colleges in the province.

known as the "july 21" workers' colleges, they were set up in accordance with chairman mao's directive of july 21, 1968: "put proletarian politics in command and take the road of the shanghai machine tools plant in training technicians from among the workers." china's first "july 21" college was started by the shanghai machine tools plant in 1969. since then, such colleges have mushroomed in all parts of the country.

in liaoning province these colleges are run by grassroots factories and mines, municipal and city district industrial administrations, big factories as well as small ones under the leadership of the party committees at various levels. some of these colleges are run jointly by several enterprises.

most of the colleges are geared to sparetime study. some are half-day and others are whole-day colleges. courses range from several months to three years. they have more than 100 specialties in the fields of engineering, sciences, arts, medicine as well as finance and economics to meet the all-round needs of the enterprises.

students are enrolled from among workers with practical experience. most of the students have previously finished junior middle school. instructors and lecturers are either experienced workers or engineers and technicians, or faculty members from other colleges. with the workers as the main force, the teaching staff links lectures with practice and prepares them in ways that the worker-students can readily understand. the syllabuses are compiled jointly by workers, technicians and cadres.

in compiling textbooks for the worker-students, the shenyang water turbine plant's college made an analytical study of the plant's typical products and consulted relevant

books. as a result, the college's textbooks such as "a treatise on turbine machinery" and "machine parts" meet actual needs and are welcomed by the students.

these colleges put proletarian politics in command and list as compulsory the study of works by marx, engels, lenin and stalin and by chairman mao. the students devote six hours a week to political theory and take part in class struggle in their factories. as a result, they have made fast progress politically.

the lectures are also closely linked with production. the students are taught necessary knowledge about their jobs and what they are required to know in order to do their work well. classroom study, production and scientific research are integrated. the factories take into consideration the requirements of the colleges when mapping out their production plans so that the two can be co-ordinated.

at the west open-cut coal mine of the fushun mining administration, the miners had demanded before the cultural revolution an improvement in the backward punch-drills. those in use were inefficient and required intensive labour. at that time, a few "specialists" were given the job to design an improved drill. they worked behind closed doors and achieved nothing after two and a half years. students majoring in drilling and blasting at the college run by the mining administration solved the problem. they joined the drill operators in their work at the mine and in designing a new drill. after three months, they succeeded in turning the punch-drill into a revolving drill which raised efficiency three-fold. the worker-students have made more than 400 technical innovations and contributed to tapping the potentials of many of the old mines.

the worker-students showed that they had retained the fine qualities of the working people when they returned to their work posts after graduation. na chung-chuan, a veteran worker at the talien acid-proof pump factory promised on the day he went off to college that he would always remain an ordinary worker. while in college, he returned regularly to the workshop to pass on what he had learned to his fellow workers and to help solve many technical problems. after graduation, he resumed work as an ordinary worker.

because of faulty designing, the five heat-treatment ovens in the workshop was giving off oil and belching thick smoke which affected the workers' health. na chung-chuan tried to solve the problem by working alongside the oven workers and with them analyzing the cause of the smoke. in co-operating with fellow workers and technicians he succeeded in improving the ovens.

fellow workers are full of praise for him, saying "college graduates like skilled worker na chung-chuan think like us and work at our side. that is really good."

WORKER-PEASANT WRITERS & ARTISTS

Amateur Art Flourishes in Southwest China City

(NCNA-English Chungking, May 26, 1976)

some 2,000 worker-peasant writers, painters, sculptors and stage artistes are active in factories, mines, shops and people's communes in and around the southwest china city of chungking.

this massive contingent of amateur literary and art enthusiasts has come into being and grown in size and scope of endeavour since the start of the great proletarian cultural revolution.

these amateur writers and artists, most of them outstanding workers in industry and farming, have turned out large numbers of songs, dances, ballads, plays and operas, poems, paintings and carvings. in a hundred different ways they express their warm praises of the great leader chairman mao, his proletarian revolutionary line, the great cultural revolution and the new socialist things.

well over 100 new works, including music, drama and dance, have recently been produced on the theme of the great victories won in the struggle against the right deviationist wind to reverse the correct verdicts of the cultural revolution.

the worker-peasant writers and artists have striven to turn art and literature to good account in serving proletarian politics and the worker-peasant-soldier masses. a group of attendants, cooks and barbers under the chungking city catering and service company has produced after repeated discussions and revisions a modern drama entitled "tit for tat". the play, which is set in a restaurant, brings into sharp relief the struggle between the two roads around the question of whom it should serve -- the masses of the people or a few individuals.

a team of women stone masons in the maliu people's commune on the outskirts has composed a song and dance drama based on its own outstanding contribution in constructing a stone bridge in the spirit of collectivism and self-reliance in the movement to learn from tachai in agriculture. the item, "women stone masons", shows the staunchness of chinese peasant women in transforming natural conditions and their sense of pride in the socialist motherland.

the amateur writers and artists do not confine their subjects to their own fields of work. they have created many works dedicated to barefoot doctors, school graduates settled in the countryside, and the revolution in education.

since earlier this month, local factories and people's communes have been astir with amateur art activities such as concerts, theatrical shows, songfests, poem recitals and revolutionary story sessions. the works of the amateur writers and artists and their performances have drawn enthusiastic acclamation from the audiences.

the 20-member art troupe of the sungtsao colliery has a repertory of a dozen items of its own creation. it has given 15 concerts for a total of over 20,000 coal miners.

concerts with ten thousand people singing together have been organized in large industrial establishments such as the chungking iron and steel company and the chiensheh machine works. several large-scale song festivals have been arranged for workers, women and other sections of the city's population.

about a thousand amateur painters and carvers are active in various fields in and around the city. special art studios and sculpture groups have been set up in a number of large factories and rural communes. the worker-peasant artists draw their subject matter and themes from the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment. the 90 pieces of sculpture produced by the chungking workers' amateur sculpture group, which portray worker-peasant-soldier heroes on various fronts, have proved a tremendous success at exhibitions in chengtu, chungking and other cities in szechwan province.

the party and government authorities in chungking attach great importance to the works of the worker-peasant writers and artists and the growth of amateur troupes. all possible facilities have been provided for the amateur enthusiasts, with courses set up under the city mass art centre and the working people's palace of culture to train new worker-peasant writers and artists.

MACHINE BUILDING INDUSTRY

Cultural Revolution Pushes Forward East China City's Machine-Building Industry

(NCNA-English Hofei, May 26, 1976)

total value of output last year in the machine-building industry in hofei, capital of the east china province of anhwei, was twice that in 1965, the year preceding the great proletarian cultural revolution.

well over 1,000 new varieties of machinery, or three times the number a decade ago, have been turned out in this city of half a million people since 1966. the total revenue turned over to the state during the last decade by the city's machine-building industry alone was an amount sufficient to build twice the number of new machine works as there are in the city today.

the industry's total value of production in the first four months of this year was 50 per cent higher than in the corresponding period last year.

these facts are convincing proof that the great proletarian cultural revolution has been a powerful motive force in the development of hofei's machine-building industry.

hofei had no engineering industry in pre-liberation days. since 1949, especially since the start of the cultural revolution, more than 100 machine-building plants have been built in the city, turning it into an engineering centre in the province. the number of workers employed in hofei's machine works today exceeds the city's entire population in the early post-liberation days.

no tractors were produced in hofei before the cultural revolution when the department in charge of tractor production, affected by liu shao-chi's revisionist line, placed blind faith in expertise and technique. depending on a few technicians to conduct experiments behind closed doors, it failed to turn out even a single tractor after wasting several years' time. during the cultural revolution, workers of the anhwei tractor plant roundly criticized the revisionist line and, working in the revolutionary spirit of daring to think and to act, succeeded in trial-producing tractors of the model chianghuai-40 in just two months. large numbers of these tractors are now ploughing the fields in rural anhwei.

hofei's machine-building plants are distributed mainly in the industrial districts to the east and southwest of the city, which have a combined area twice as large as the city proper in pre-liberation days.

the annual capacities of some of the larger plants are: 600 machine tools with hydraulic transmission equipment, 5,000 heavy-duty lorries, one million sets of bearings, 10,000 hand tractors, and transformers with an aggregate capacity of 400,000 k.v.a.

LAND IMPROVEMENT

Improved Farming Conditions in Mountainous Area in Northeast China Province

(NCNA-English Changchun, May 25, 1976)

the changpai mountainous areas in northeast china have transformed some 667,000 hectares of low-yield land into stable high-yield fields since the beginning of the great proletarian cultural revolution.

before liberation, some hundred rivers including the sunghua and tumen rivers used to inundate and submerge fields in the areas during every rainy season. now big dykes protect the banks and thousands of dams and many reservoirs have been built along the rivers and in the mountain valleys. these projects prevent flooding and store water for irrigation. the people have also installed a network of drainage ditches and built stable high-yield raised fields protected by a system of drainage ditches covering 133,000 hectares of low-lying, waterlogging land. they have planted the mountain slopes with trees to check water and soil erosion, and transformed two thirds of the hilly land into terraced fields.

the total grain output for the whole region last year was double that of 1949, and was 40 per cent higher than in 1965, the year before the cultural revolution. the 1975 average of 3.19 tons per hectare surpassed the target set in the national programme for agricultural development.

antu county at the foot of mount paitou in the changpai mountains has a long history of unfavourable natural conditions. formerly the leading members of the county party committee could do nothing about the conditions under the influence of liu shao-chi's revisionist line. with the cultural revolution, they criticized the revisionist line and led the commune peasants in changing the conditions. after several years' hard work, they turned the

slope fields into terraced fields, transformed low-lying land, harnessed the rivers and covered mountain wasteland with trees. with all this, agricultural production has developed rapidly. last year, the grain output reached close to three tons per hectare.

in the mountainous tunghua county the masses went all out to build farmland improvement projects by self-reliance. every winter-spring period, more than 50,000 peasants turned out to work. they transformed the 14,000 of the county's 16,670 hectares of sloped fields into terraced fields, applied humus soil and manure to 19,300 hectares of poor soil. the county has steadily increased its per unit grain yield in recent years and last year averaged 3.15 tons of grain per hectare.

huichun county is on the eastern slopes of the changpai mountains. in 1971 winter all the members of the county party committee took part in surveying the county's flood areas, a study of the direction of drifting sands, the nature of the soil and features of the climate. they then worked out a plan to transform the natural conditions. through several year's hard work they put up windbreaks, planted net-like shelter belts to protect the farmland, and built dams on the rivers. in this way, 9,333 hectares of low-lying land and 12,700 hectares of poor farmland were in the main tranformed. as a result, farming conditions have been changed and production has risen steadily. last year, the county's grain output topped the three tons per hectare target set in the national programme for agricultural development.

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* FOREIGN RELATIONS *
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CHINA AND AFGHANISTAN

Chinese Ambassador to Afghanistan Expresses
Sympathy for Afghan People in Earthquake Area

(NCNA-English Kabul, May 26, 1976)

on behalf of the chinese government and people, kan yeh-tao, ambassador of the people's republic of china to afghanistan, today called on siddiq, general secretary of the afghan red crescent society, to express sympathy with the afghan people in areas affected by earthquake and flood recently.

the chinese ambassador handed to the general secretary one ton of medicine sent by the chinese red cross society.

general secretary siddiq expressed sincere thanks to the chinese people for their friendship and kindness.

CHINA AND AFRICA

Kwangtung Men's Basketball Team of China
Leaves for African Countries

(NCNA-English Peking, May 26, 1976)

the kwangtung men's basketball team led by chiang ya-chao left here by plane yesterday for friendly visits to togo, benin, burundi and mozambique.

CHINA AND ARGENTINA

Argentine National Day Reception Held in Peking

(NCNA-English Peking, May 25, 1976)

ambassador of the republic of argentina to china juan carlos katzenstein hosted a reception at his embassy here today to celebrate the argentine national day.

present at the reception were yeh fei, chinese minister of communications, wang hai-jung, vice-minister of foreign affairs, chai shu-fan, vice-minister of foreign trade, hu wei, deputy chief of general staff of the chinese people's liberation army, huang wen, leading member of the ministry of public health, li ching-chuan, leading member of the state physical culture and sports commission, and wang hsiao-yi, deputy secretary general of the peking municipal revolutionary committee.

diplomatic envoys of various countries here were present on the occasion.

CHINA AND BELGIUM

Chinese Ambassador Presents Credentials to King of Belgians

(NCNA-English Brussels, May 26, 1976)

huan hsiang, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the people's republic of china to the kingdom of belgium, today presented his credentials to king of the belgians baudouin.

after the presentation, king baudouin had a friendly conversation with ambassador huan hsiang.

the new ambassador arrived here on may 4.

CHINA AND BRITAIN

NPC Vice Chairman Meets Young British Friends

(NCNA-English Peking, May 26, 1976)

li su-wen, vice-chairman of the standing committee of the national people's congress, this afternoon met and had a friendly conversation with the delegation of the british young conservative organization with tony kerpel, chairman of the organization's last session, as leader and michael jack, chairman of the organization's current session, as deputy leader.

present on the occasion were hsieh li, leading member of the chinese people's institute of foreign affairs, and liang shang-yuan, deputy director of the west european affairs department of the foreign ministry.

CHINA AND EGYPT

Egyptian Military Delegation Leaves Peking for Home

(NCNA-English Peking, May 26, 1976)

the egyptian military delegation led by mohammed abdul ghany el gammassy, deputy premier and minister of war and war production of the arab republic of egypt, left here for home by special plane this afternoon.

it was seen off at the airport by ho ying, vice-foreign minister, wang shang-jung, deputy chief of general staff of the chinese people's liberation army, and leading members of departments concerned, including yeh cheng-ta, chai cheng-wen and chou chueh.

present were egyptian ambassador to china salah el-abd and diplomatic officials of the egyptian embassy here, and senior colonel kim bo yun, military attache of the embassy of the democratic people's republic of korea here.

deputy premier gammassy and the other distinguished egyptian guests toured the summer palace and the palace museum in peking this morning.

CHINA AND GUYANA

Guyanese Ambassador to China Gives Independence Anniversary Reception

(NCNA-English Peking, May 26, 1976)

john carter, ambassador of the cooperative republic of guyana to china, and his wife gave a reception here this afternoon on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of independence of guyana.

among the guests were liu hsiang-ping, minister of public health, wang hai-jung, vice-foreign minister, peng min, vice-minister of the state capital construction commission, chai shu-fan, vice-minister of foreign trade, li ke, vice-minister of economic relations with foreign countries, chen wei-chi, vice-minister of light industry, and yang shou-shan, vice-chairman of the peking municipal revolutionary committee.

diplomatic envoys of various countries to china attended.

CHINA AND JAPAN

Vice President of China-Japan Friendship Association Meets Japanese Friends

(NCNA-English Peking, May 26, 1976)

chang hsiang-shan, vice-president of the china-japan friendship association, met and had a friendly conversation here today with the second hokuriku prefectural assembly friendship delegation with yasumasa kakuma as leader, takeshi takeuchi and hiroshi kanahara as deputy leaders and yoshifumi ishizawa as secretary general.

after arriving in china on may 14, the friendship delegation visited shanghai, wuhan, chengchow and loyang. it arrived in peking on may 24 and visited a factory, a university and places of historical interest. it will shortly leave here for home.

Peking Opera Troupe of Shanghai Visits Kitakyushu City

(NCNA-English Tokyo, May 26, 1976)

during its performance tour of kitakyushu, the peking opera troupe of shanghai in three days from may 23 gave performances of revolutionary modern peking operas "taking tiger mountain by strategy", "trial of chair", "chin chiang ferry", "pan shih wan" and selections from "taking tiger mountain by strategy" to the warm welcome of more than 5,000 spectators.

mayor gohei tani, speaker of the municipal assembly takeshi matsuo and some other local officials, as well as acting director of the japanese democratic music association imetsuno anekoji and friends of various circles watched the performances.

many spectators came from miyazaki, oita and saga in southern kyushu and yamaguchi and shimonoseki in northern kyushu.

a professor of the kitakyushu university told the chinese actors and actresses after watching the performance of "taking tiger mountain by strategy" that "the revolutionary modern peking opera has thoroughly discarded the dross of the old peking opera, inherited and developed the fine essence of the traditional art. the policy of revolutionary art and literature 'make the past serve the present and foreign things serve china', 'weed through the old to bring forth the new' has found concrete expression in the revolutionary modern peking opera. the heroic images in the play, full of great vitality, encouraged the people to advance."

middle-aged woman watanabe said: "i have never seen such an excellent performance. what impressed me most is the fighting spirit of the clever and heroic little red guard in the opera 'chin chiang ferry'. he has not only displayed the mental outlook of china's younger generation, but also shown us what a bright future new china has. such a performance given in japan is of great importance in strengthening the friendship between the two countries."

on the evening of may 25 when the actors and actresses were leaving the theatre, dozens of boys and girls gathered in front of the theatre, singing in chorus the song "i love peking tienanmen". the chinese actors and actresses joined the chorus. the hearts of the chinese and japanese peoples were closely linked by the singing, applauding and cheering.

in the city of kitakyushu, the shanghai troupe visited the yawata steel corporation and held a friendly get-together with the workers there. the head of the troupe and some of the members called on gohei tani, mayor of kitakyushu, visited the kanmon bridge, the submarine tunnel and the municipal gallery of kitakyushu.

CHINA AND KOREA

Chinese PLA Song and Dance Ensemble Continues Visit in Korea

(NCNA-English Pyongyang, May 26, 1976)

the chinese people's liberation army song and dance ensemble paid a friendly visit to the heroic city of wonsan in kangwon province and the kumgang mountain, a scenic spot, from may 18 to 25.

on may 18 the kangwon provincial people's committee gave a banquet in honour of the chinese ensemble. attending the banquet were hong si hak, chief secretary of the kangwon provincial committee of the workers' party of korea, chi gun su, chairman of the provincial administrative committee, paek jong won, chief secretary of the wonsan city committee of the workers' party of korea, li sun keun, chairman of the wosan city administrative committee, as well as leading members of the local garrison and cultural workers. chief secretary hong si hak and leader of the ensemble ting li spoke at the banquet. they warmly praised the ceaseless consolidation and development of the blood-cemented friendship between the peoples and armies of korea and china. the banquet proceeded in a cordial and friendly atmosphere.

during its visit in the city of wonsan and the kumgang mountain, the ensemble gave seven performances to a total of some 20,000 spectators.

the audience warmly applauded the performances including the chinese songs "let's sing the great motherland", "song of peking", "herdsmen and pla soldiers are one in spirit and purpose", "sariha intently listens to chairman mao's words"; the korean dance "at the spring"; the bamboo flute solo "patrols on the grassland"; the yuehchin solo "one million cross the river yangtze"; and the erhu solo, a song from the korean revolutionary opera "sea of blood".

during its visit, the ensemble called on the local korean people's army units, heard reports on the heroic exploit of the korean people's army, and went on a sight-seeing tour.

MALAYSIA

Malaysian Paper Exposes Soviet Arms Expansion

(NCNA-English Peking, May 25, 1976)

the soviet union is stepping up arms expansion under the smokescreen of "detente", the malaysian paper "kuang hua yig pao" pointed out in an editorial on may 22, according to a kuala lumpur report.

the editorial says that in the past few years, the soviet union has been intensifying arms expansion and pushing hegemonism throughout the world by taking advantage of the indulgence of the united states in "detente". "moreover, it has been agitating for 'economic cooperation' under the guise of 'detente' with a view to acquiring capital and technology from the west to reinforce its strength."

the soviet military budget is larger than that of the united states, it adds.

in recent years, the editorial says, the soviet navy has expanded rapidly, making its presence and establishing naval and air bases in the mediterranean, indian, pacific and south atlantic oceans. the editorial points out that the soviet naval force is offensive in character and is geared for a new world war with the united states and western europe. "last year, the soviet union carried out a large-scale naval exercise, the major tactical aim of which was europe and the cutting off of the sea link between western europe and the united states, including the line of oil supply from the persian gulf to europe."

the editorial goes on to say that the soviet union has also intensified its quest for hegemony on the land. since the beginning of this year, the soviet union has increased the number of fighter planes, tanks and armoured cars in central and eastern europe. the conventional strength of the warsaw treaty organization, which has already surpassed that of the north atlantic treaty organization, has attained greater superiority. obviously, the expansion "is aimed at launching a large-scale preemptive attack".

CHINA AND MONGOLIA

Vice Premier Ku Mu Meets Outgoing Mongolian Ambassador to China

(NCNA-English Peking, May 26, 1976)

ku mu, vice-premier of the state council, this afternoon met with s. sosorbaram, ambassador of the mongolian people's republic to china, who will soon leave for home at the end of his term of office.

present were ho chang-ming, deputy director of the asian affairs department, and fu shun-ho, deputy director of the protocol department, of the foreign ministry.

CHINA AND PAKISTAN

Pakistan Prime Minister Ali Bhutto Arrives in Peking to Rousing Welcome

(NCNA-English Peking, May 26, 1976)

prime minister zulfikar ali bhutto of the islamic republic of pakistan, arriving in peking by special plane from pyongyang this morning on an official visit to china at the invitation of premier hua kuo-feng, was given a grand and warm welcome by people of the chinese capital.

among those accompanying prime minister bhutto on his visit are his wife begum nusrat bhutto; minister of state for defence and foreign affairs aziz ahmed; minister for food and agriculture sheikh mohammad rashid; minister for education and provincial coordination abdul hafeez pirzada and his wife; minister for housing and works syed nasir ali shah rizvi; chairman of the joint chiefs of staff committee general mohammad shariff; and chief of staff of the pakistan air force air chief marshal zulfiqar ali khan and his wife.

premier hua kuo-feng, foreign minister chiao kuan-hua, minister of foreign trade li chiang, and a crowd of several thousand well-wishers were at the airport to accord the distinguished pakistan guests a warm welcome.

an old friend of the chinese people, prime minister bhutto has visited china on many occasions and contributed to the ever-growing friendship between china and pakistan.

to welcome prime minister bhutto on his current visit, the chinese capital was decked out festively. red lanterns hung on the tienanmen gate. varicoloured bunting fluttered over peking's main thoroughfare, the east and west changan streets. huge streamers trailing from tall buildings bore the slogans of welcome: "a warm welcome to prime minister bhutto excl." "a warm welcome to the distinguished pakistan guests excl." "firmly support the pakistan people's just struggle to safeguard national independence and state sovereignty excl." "long live the friendship between the people of china and pakistan excl." "long live the great unity of the people of the third world excl." "long live the great unity of the people of the world excl."

at 11:20 a.m. the special plane carrying the distinguished pakistan guests touched down at peking airport which flew the national flags of china and pakistan. when prime minister and madame bhutto and the other distinguished guests alighted, premier hua kuo-feng greeted them with warm handshakes.

a grand ceremony of welcome took place at the airport. the band struck up the national anthems of pakistan and china. accompanied by premier hua kuo-feng, prime minister bhutto reviewed a guard of honour made up of men of the ground, naval and air forces of the chinese people's liberation army. as the distinguished guests walked around to meet the welcoming crowd, cheers rose from the crowd and children in colourful costume danced to lively music. prime minister bhutto waved to the well-wishers in acknowledgement.

among others welcoming the guests at the airport were:

members of the standing committee of the national people's congress yen chi-tzu, yang po-lan and li chu-kuei; leading members of government departments concerned, the headquarters of the general staff of the chinese people's liberation army, and the peking municipal revolutionary committee han nien-lung, chang tsai-chien, ma ning, chen mu-hua, hao chung-shih, sun hsiao-feng, hsueh yu-shan, yin chung-wei, liu tsun-hsin, ting kuo-yu, fu yu-fang, chang hsueh-chun; and chinese ambassador to pakistan lu wei-chao.

pakistan ambassador to china mumtaz ali alvie and mrs. alvie, pakistan embassy officials and other pakistan friends in peking, ambassador of the democratic people's republic of korea to china hyun jun keuk and diplomatic envoys to china from other countries were also present at the airport.

Premier Hua Kuo-feng and Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto Hold Talks

(NCNA-English Peking, May 26, 1976)

hua kuo-feng, premier of the state council, held talks with zulfikar ali bhutto, prime minister of the islamic republic of pakistan, here this afternoon.

the talks proceeded in a cordial and friendly atmosphere.

taking part in the talks on the pakistan side were:

aziz ahmed, minister of state for defence and foreign affairs; sheikh mohammad rashid, minister for food and agriculture; abdul hafeez pirzada, minister for education and provincial coordination; syed nasir ali shah rizvi, minister for housing and works; general mohammad shariff, chairman of the joint chiefs of staff committee; air chief marshal zulfiqar ali khan, chief of staff of the pakistan air force; agha shahi, foreign secretary; and mumtaz ali alvie, pakistan ambassador to china.

taking part in the talks on the chinese side were: chiao kuan-hua, foreign minister; li chiang, minister of foreign trade; han nien-lung, vice-foreign minister; chang tsai-chien, deputy chief of general staff of the chinese people's liberation army; shen ping and chu chuan-hsien, departmental directors of the foreign ministry; and chinese ambassador to pakistan lu wei-chao.

this evening, prime minister and begum bhutto met with madame teng ying-chao, widow of the late premier chou en-lai, and extended their condolences to her on the death of premier chou. madame teng ying-chao expressed hearty thanks for this.

Chinese Premier Hua Kuo-feng Gives Grand Banquet Warmly Welcoming Pakistan Prime Minister and Begum Bhutto

(NCNA-English Peking, May 26, 1976)

premier of the state council hua kuo-feng gave a grand banquet here this evening to warmly welcome zulfikar ali bhutto, prime minister of the islamic republic of pakistan, begum bhutto and the other distinguished pakistan guests accompanying them on the visit to china.

among those present at the banquet were vice-premier li hsien-nien, foreign minister chiao kuan-hua, minister of foreign trade li chiang, minister of culture yu hui-yung and minister of public health liu hsiang-ping.

the national flags of pakistan and china hung side by side at the banquet hall of the great hall of the people.

premier hua kuo-feng and prime minister bhutto made speeches at the banquet.

in his speech, premier hua kuo-feng warmly praised the people of pakistan as an industrious, brave and heroic people unafraid of brute force and with a glorious tradition of combating imperialism, colonialism and aggression. he said: "under the leadership of prime minister bhutto, the government and people of pakistan have in recent years continued to work hard with a will and achieved marked success in safeguarding national independence and state sovereignty, building the country and developing the national economy. on the international plane, pakistan has made active efforts to strengthen solidarity, cooperation and mutual support and assistance with other third world countries and made a positive contribution to the cause of unity of the people of all countries against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism."

premier hua kuo-feng said: "since prime minister bhutto's visit to china in 1974, the world has continued to advance amidst turmoil. the third world people's united struggle against imperialism and hegemonism has surged forward like a sweeping tide. the two superpowers have found the going tougher and tougher. 'wind and thunder are stirring, flags and banners are flying wherever men live.' in recent years, the situation in south asia has also developed in a direction more and more favourable to the people of the world and unfavourable to imperialism and hegemonism. the developments and changes in the situation in south asia are a sharp indication of the south asian peoples' strong desire to shake off the fetters of hegemonism and expansionism and march along the road of independence. although a certain superpower flaunts all kinds of banners and shifts various tactics, it does not take long before an increasing number of people come to see through its vicious features as it harbours the evil intentions of controlling and enslaving the south asian countries. the south asian peoples who have a glorious tradition of opposing imperialism and colonialism are not to be bullied. we are sure that the south asian peoples will frustrate all conspiratorial activities of the enemy if they continue to heighten their vigilance, persist in struggle and strengthen their unity." he said: "the chinese government and people firmly support the south asian peoples in their struggle to defend national independence and state sovereignty and combat imperialism, hegemonism and expansionism. we firmly support the proposal of the pakistan government for a nuclear-free-zone in south asia. we firmly support the positive proposal of the sri lanka government for making the indian ocean a zone of peace. we firmly support the just stand taken

by his majesty the king of nepal in declaring nepal a zone of peace. we are ready to assume appropriate commitments arising therefrom."

the chinese premier continued: "the chinese government and people have always cherished a profound friendship for the people of the south asian countries. we earnestly hope that the south asian countries will exclude outside interference, resolve their differences through consultations on an equal footing and live in friendship in accordance with the five principles of peaceful coexistence."

he pointed out: "friendly co-existence among the south asian countries is conducive to their defence of national independence and development of their national economies and adverse to superpower rivalry and expansion in this region, and is therefore in conformity with the fundamental interests of the people of the south asian countries. on its part, the chinese government will continue to strengthen and develop friendly and good-neighbourly relations with the south asian countries on the basis of the five principles of peaceful co-existence."

dwelling on the situation in china, premier hua kuo-feng said: "china is a developing socialist country belonging to the third world. under chairman mao's wise leadership, the chinese people, firmly taking class struggle as the key link and grasping revolution and promoting production and other work and preparedness against war, have scored great victories in socialist revolution and socialist construction. but class struggle has not died out, and there are always some people who attempt to restore capitalism and change the political colour of our country. therefore, we must carry on struggle. chairman mao teaches us: 'without struggle, there is no progress.' 'can 800 million people manage without struggle? excl.' at present, the struggle initiated and led by our great leader chairman mao personally to criticize teng hsiao-ping's counter-revolutionary revisionist line and repulse the right deviationist attempt to reverse correct verdicts has already won great victories, and the situation is excellent. through this struggle, it is certain that chairman mao's revolutionary line will find its way deeper into the hearts of the people, china's socialist revolution and socialist construction will develop more vigorously, and the revolutionary line and policy in foreign affairs formulated for us by chairman mao will continue to be implemented, and implemented even better. we are determined to make continued efforts and carry this great struggle through to the end."

speaking of the deep traditional friendship between the peoples of china and pakistan, the chinese premier said: "the common struggle against imperialism, colonialism, hegemonism and expansionism has always bound our two peoples closely. whether in overcast weather or in storm, our two countries have always sympathized with

and supported each other. our friendship and cooperation are most sincere and serves the interest of the common cause of the unity of the third world against imperialism and hegemonism, and are therefore indestructible by any force on earth."

he stated, "in future as in the past, the chinese government and people will firmly support the pakistan government and people in their just struggle to safeguard national independence, defend state sovereignty and oppose outside interference."

on behalf of the pakistan people and government, prime minister bhutto in his speech extended heartfelt congratulations to hua kuo-feng on his appointment as first vice chairman of the party central committee and premier of the state council. bhutto said: "by entrusting you with such high and onerous responsibility, the people and the party of your country have demonstrated their confidence and trust in you at an important period in the history of your great country."

the prime minister said: "i have had the privilege of coming to china on many occasions. i have come here in times of peace and also in times of grave crises. throughout the long period of our close association, the chinese people and their government have stood staunchly by pakistan and given us unstinted support in our just struggle to defend our national unity, political independence and state sovereignty."

he said: "we stand side by side in the struggle against domination and exploitation. our friendship rests on the common dedication of our two governments and peoples to the defence of the principles of respect for state sovereignty, political independence and territorial integrity and of non-interference in internal affairs. we are confident that, as in the past, sino-pakistan friendship will continue to make a major contribution to the security and stability of our region and to the struggle of the peoples of the world against imperialism, expansionism and hegemonism everywhere."

prime minister bhutto said: "pakistan has always endeavoured to cultivate and maintain peaceful and amicable relations with all its neighbours -- big or small. it remains committed to advancing the process of normalization in south asia and it is indeed gratifying that our efforts in this direction have met with a good measure of success.

"the various steps envisaged in the simla agreement for normalising international relations in south asia have been completed and only the jammu and kashmir dispute remains to be resolved. conscious of our historic responsibility to the people of jammu and kashmir, we shall continue to strive for a peaceful settlement

of our dispute with india in regard to their future, but we shall not compromise on principles."

he said: "it is indeed gratifying that full **rapprochement** has been achieved between the peoples of pakistan and bangladesh. we believe that the deep and historic ties between our two peoples are a constructive element in promoting harmony and tranquillity in the region.

"another positive development in our region has been in our relations with afghanistan. we have always desired to develop close and friendly ties with our neighbour and have always been ready to enter into discussion with the government of afghanistan to seek ways of improving and strengthening our relations on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence."

the pakistan prime minister pointed out: "we are entering an era in which domination has begun to assert itself in its new shape of economic exploitation. states like pakistan may have achieved political freedom but our fight for economic emancipation has still to be won. our struggle for economic independence is obstructed by an international economic order that seeks to perpetuate an unequal and exploitative relationship between the industrialised nations and ourselves.

"it is in the resistance to this threat that the third world faces the sternest challenge to its unity. neo-colonialist designs aim to disrupt and destroy this unity or to feed us on false hopes with a view to gaining time in order to oppose our just demands. we must ask ourselves whether exercises in dilatory tactics, such as international conferences, are to be endlessly tolerated, or whether the time has come for all the third world countries to unite their strength and forge a common platform at the highest political level in a great conference of asian, african and latin american countries, to establish a more just international economic order?"

he praised the phenomenal achievements made by the chinese people under the leadership of chairman mao tsetung and said: "we, in pakistan, are also engaged in transforming our society and ensuring a better and richer life for our people. we do not underestimate the difficulties confronting us, but with the determination of our people we are moving forward."

in conclusion, prime minister bhutto expressed the determination of the pakistan government and people to make further efforts to consolidate the existing cooperation and increase contacts between pakistan and china.

after the two speeches, the band struck up the national anthems of pakistan and china.

the banquet proceeded in a warm atmosphere of solidarity and friendship between the people of china and pakistan. chinese and pakistan music was played in the course of the banquet. the hosts and guests chatted cordially and toasted repeatedly to the daily development of the friendship between the two peoples and the friendly relations and cooperation between the two countries.

among the guests at the banquet were pakistan ambassador to china mumtaz ali alvie, mrs. alvie and other pakistan friends in peking, as well as diplomatic envoys of various countries to china.

present at the banquet were: members of the standing committee of the national people's congress yen chi-tzu, yang po-lan and li chu-kuei; and

leading members of government departments, departments of the chinese people's liberation army and the peking municipal revolutionary committee, including han nien-lung, chang tsai-chien, ma ning, chen mu-hua, hao chung-shih, sun hsiao-feng, pan chi, han kuo-chung, hsueh yu-shan, yin chung-wei, liu tsun-hsin, liu chung-yang, lin chia-mei, hsieh li-fu, tung lin, an kang, ting kuo-yu, fu yu-fang, chang hsueh-chun, yang chi and chang chieh, and chinese ambassador to pakistan lu wei-chao.

Premier Hua Kuo-feng's Speech

(NCNA-English Peking, May 26, 1976)

following is the full text of premier hua kuo-feng's speech at the banquet he gave this evening in honour of pakistan prime minister zulfikar ali bhutto:

your excellency respected prime minister and begum zulfikar ali bhutto,
distinguished guests from pakistan,
friends and comrades,

we are very glad that his excellency zulfikar ali bhutto, prime minister of the islamic republic of pakistan, our friendly neighbour, has today arrived in peking for an official visit to china after making a successful visit to the democratic people's republic of korea. prime minister bhutto is the chinese people's well-acquainted and respected friend of long standing, who over the years visited china on many occasions and made an outstanding contribution to the growth of the friendship between china and pakistan. on this current visit to

china, his excellency the prime minister has brought with him the pakistan people's deep friendship for the chinese people and this visit gives us an opportunity to renew our friendship. on behalf of the chinese government and people, i here wish to express our warm welcome to his excellency the prime minister and begum bhutto and the other distinguished guests from pakistan.

the chinese people greatly admire the people of pakistan, who are an industrious, brave and heroic people unafraid of brute force and with a glorious tradition of combating imperialism, colonialism and aggression. under the leadership of prime minister bhutto, the government and people of pakistan have in recent years continued to work hard with a will and achieved marked success in safeguarding national independence and state sovereignty, building the country and developing the national economy. on the international plane, pakistan has made active efforts to strengthen solidarity, cooperation and mutual support and assistance with other third world countries and made a positive contribution to the cause of unity of the people of all countries against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism. we heartily rejoice at the growing strength of pakistan and her rising international standing. the chinese government and people sincerely congratulate the pakistan government and people on every success of theirs, and we firmly believe you will win new and continuous victories on your road of advance.

comrades and friends,

since prime minister bhutto's visit to china in 1974, the world has continued to advance amidst turmoil. the third world people's united struggle against imperialism and hegemonism has surged forward like a sweeping tide. the two superpowers have found the going tougher and tougher. "wind and thunder are stirring, flags and banners are flying wherever men live." in recent years, the situation in south asia has also developed in a direction more and more favourable to the people of the world and unfavourable to imperialism and hegemonism. the developments and changes in the situation in south asia are a sharp indication of the south asian peoples' strong desire to shake off the fetters of hegemonism and expansionism and march along the road of independence. although a certain superpower flaunts all kinds of banners and shifts various tactics, it does not take long before an increasing number of people come to see through its vicious features as it harbours the evil intentions of controlling and enslaving the south asian countries. the south asian peoples who have a glorious tradition of opposing imperialism and colonialism are not to be bullied. we are sure that the south asian peoples will frustrate all conspiratorial activities of the enemy if they continue to heighten their vigilance, persist in struggle and strengthen their unity. the chinese government and people firmly support the south asian peoples in their struggle to defend

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chairman mao's revolutionary line will find its way deeper into the hearts of the people, china's socialist revolution and socialist construction will develop more vigorously, and the revolutionary line and policy in foreign affairs formulated for us by chairman mao will continue to be implemented, and implemented even better. we are determined to make continued efforts and carry this great struggle through to the end.

comrades and friends,

this may marks the 25th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between china and pakistan. on this happy occasion, we are particularly glad to receive his excellency prime minister bhutto, friendly envoy of the pakistan people. the past twenty-five years testify that our two countries are truly old friends and good friends. this is not only because there exists a deep traditional friendship between our two peoples, but also because the common struggle against imperialism, colonialism, hegemonism and expansionism has always bound our two peoples closely. whether in overcast weather or in storm, our two countries have always sympathized with and supported each other. our friendship and cooperation are most sincere and serves the interest of the common cause of the unity of the third world against imperialism and hegemonism, and are therefore indestructible by any force on earth. just as prime minister bhutto has said, the relations between china and pakistan "have stood the test of time. they have withstood the vagaries of political weather." in future as in the past, the chinese government and people will firmly support the pakistan government and people in their just struggle to safeguard national independence, defend state sovereignty and oppose outside interference. our pakistan friends can rest assured that the chinese people will always be reliable friends of the pakistan people.

now i propose a toast,

to the continuous growth of the friendship between the chinese and pakistan peoples and the friendly relations and cooperation between our two countries,

to the prosperity of the islamic republic of pakistan and the well-being of her people,

to the health of his excellency president chaudhri fazal elahi,

to the health of his excellency prime minister and begum zulfikar ali bhutto,

to the health of all the other distinguished guests from pakistan,

to the health of the heads of diplomatic missions and their wives present, and

to the health of all friends and comrades present here excl.

Prime Minister Bhutto's Speech

(NCNA-English Peking, May 26, 1976)

following is the full text of the speech of pakistan prime minister zulfikar ali bhutto at the banquet given in his honour by premier hua kuo-feng this evening:

mr. prime minister, excellencies, distinguished chinese friends,

ladies and gentlemen,

we are extremely happy, mr. prime minister, to be able to visit your great country once again and to have the opportunity of meeting you and renewing our association with old friends. as always, my wife and i, and the members of the pakistan delegation have been received with great cordiality by you and your colleagues and the friendly people of this great city. i thank you most sincerely for the warm welcome accorded to us.

it is my pleasant duty to extend to you, on behalf of the people and the government of pakistan, mr. prime minister, our heartfelt congratulations on your appointment as first vice chairman of the party central committee and premier of the state council. by entrusting you with such high and onerous responsibility, the people and the party of your country have demonstrated their confidence and trust in you at an important period in the history of your great country.

mr. prime minister, we have maintained close understanding between our two countries through regular consultations at the highest level. my present visit to your great country is part of the same process. we look forward, during our stay in your beautiful capital, to continuing our discussions with your excellency and other chinese leaders in the spirit of friendship, cordiality and mutual trust which has always characterised our relations.

i have had the privilege of coming to china on many occasions. i have come here in times of peace and also in times of grave crises. throughout the long period

of our close association, the chinese people and their government have stood staunchly by pakistan and given us unstinted support in our just struggle to defend our national unity, political independence and state sovereignty. i recall, mr. prime minister, that in the wake of the tragic events of 1971, there were many who wondered whether pakistan after its dismemberment would be able to resist a dictated peace. there were also those who under-estimated the strength of our people's will, their fortitude and determination to defend and preserve their national independence. there were others who failed to recognise the fact that pakistan continued to enjoy the powerful support of friendly nations, wedded to the principles of a just peace. in that dark hour of our history, it was china's resolute support that provided a source of strength to the government and people of pakistan. it was china which reinforced our resolve to resist a diktat regardless of the price in human sufferings and to accept nothing short of an honourable peace settlement.

the friendship between our two countries is based on our common dedication to the high principles of international conduct. it is not based on expediency or opportunism. we stand side by side in the struggle against domination and exploitation. our friendship rests on the common dedication of our two governments and peoples to the defence of the principles of respect for state sovereignty, political independence and territorial integrity and of non-interference in internal affairs. we are confident that, as in the past, sino-pakistan friendship will continue to make a major contribution to the security and stability of our region and to the struggle of the peoples of the world against imperialism, expansionism and hegemonism everywhere.

pakistan has always endeavoured to cultivate and maintain peaceful and amicable relations with all its neighbours -- big or small. it remains committed to advancing the process of normalization in south asia and it is indeed gratifying that our efforts in this direction have met with a good measure of success.

the various steps envisaged in the simla agreement for normalising international relations in south asia have been completed and only the jammu and kashmir dispute remains to be resolved. conscious of our historic responsibility to the people of jammu and kashmir, we shall continue to strive for a peaceful settlement of our dispute with india in regard to their future, but we shall not compromise on principles. i wish to take this opportunity to once again thank the government and people of china for their unwavering and principled support to the right of self-determination of the people of jammu and kashmir.

we sincerely desire to close the chapter of conflict and confrontation in south asia. we have an overriding interest in peace so that pakistan, india and bangladesh may be able to devote their energies and resources to the material and spiritual advancement of their underprivileged peoples.

mr. prime minister, it is indeed gratifying that full rapprochement has been achieved between the peoples of pakistan and bangladesh. we believe that the deep and historic ties between our two peoples are a constructive element in promoting harmony and tranquillity in the region.

another positive development in our region has been in our relations with afghanistan. we have always desired to develop close and friendly ties with our neighbour and been ready to enter into discussion with the government of afghanistan to seek ways of improving and strengthening our relations on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence. it is in this spirit that i look forward to my visit to kabul in the near future.

mr. prime minister, we are entering an era in which domination has begun to assert itself in its new shape of economic exploitation. states like pakistan may have achieved political freedom but our fight for economic emancipation has still to be won. our struggle for economic independence is obstructed by an international economic order that seeks to perpetuate an unequal and exploitative relationship between the industrialised nations and ourselves.

it is in the resistance to this threat that the third world faces the sternest challenge to its unity. neo-colonialist designs aim to disrupt and destroy this unity or to feed us on false hopes with a view to gaining time in order to oppose our just demands. we must ask ourselves whether exercises in dilatory tactics, such as international conferences, are to be endlessly tolerated, or whether the time has come for all the third world countries to unite their strength and forge a common platform at the highest political level in a great conference of asian, african and latin american countries, to establish a more just international economic order?

mr. premier, we admire the phenomenal achievements made by the chinese people under the leadership of chairman mao tsetung. china's renaissance is the renaissance of a quarter of humanity and a great source of inspiration to all developing nations. your revolution has opened new vistas of hope and confidence for future generations of mankind.

we, in pakistan, are also engaged in transforming our society and ensuring a better and richer life for our people. we do not underestimate the difficulties confronting us, but with the determination of our people we are moving forward. we are appreciative of the invaluable assistance rendered by your great country in our endeavour to build our economy on a self-reliant basis. thanks to your help, we can now look forward, with a measure of hope, to the early establishment of certain basic industries in our country.

mr. prime minister, the exchanges in the cultural, trade, economic and technological fields between our two peoples have enriched us and we are determined not only to continue and consolidate the existing cooperation between our two peoples in those spheres but to expand and strengthen it further. our two countries have set a good example of positive and constructive international cooperation. the increasing contacts between our peoples is a distinguishable feature of our relations, which i am confident, will continue to grow from strength to strength with the passage of time.

excellencies, ladies and gentlemen, dear friends,

may i now invite you to raise your glasses in honour of the great leader of the chinese people, chairman mao tsetung. we wish him health and long-life.

- to the health of his excellency premier hua kuo-feng,

- to the health of other chinese friends and distinguished guests present here,

- to the health of heads of diplomatic missions and their wives, and to all other friends who are present here,

- to the prosperity and progress of the great chinese people, and

- to the ever lasting friendship between the peoples of china and pakistan.

CHINA AND PHILIPPINES

Philippine Social-Economic Visiting Group
Feted in Peking

(NCNA-English Peking, May 26, 1976)

yang chi, vice president of the chinese people's association for friendship with foreign countries, today met and feted the philippine social-economic visiting group with horacio morales as head and carlos fernandez as deputy head.

wang chih-fan, cheng jui-sheng and tung mien-kuo, leading members of organizations concerned, were present.

anastacio bartolome, charge d'affaires ad interim of the philippine embassy here, was also present.

the group arrived here yesterday as guests of the chinese people's association for friendship with foreign countries.

CHINA AND ROMANIA

Romanian Tourist Group Leaves Peking for Home

(NCNA-English Peking, May 26, 1976)

the fourth tourist group of the national office of tourism "carpati" of romania led by constantin radu and petre ionescu left here for home today.

arriving in china on may 11, the tourist group visited peking, kwangchow, shanghai, soochow, wuhsi and nanking.

cheng chih-ping, leading member of the china travel and tourism administrative bureau, gave a banquet in peking in honour of the romanian guests.

CHINA AND SOVIET UNION

Government Trade Delegation of Soviet Union Leaves Peking for Home

(NCNA-English Peking, May 26, 1976)

the government trade delegation of the soviet union led by i.t. grishin, vice-minister of foreign trade, left here for home by air today after concluding a sino-soviet agreement on goods exchange and payments for 1976 and paying visit in china.

the delegation was seen off at the airport by chen chieh, chinese vice-minister of foreign trade. a.a. brezhnev, charge d'affaires ad interim of the soviet embassy in peking, was present.

Jen-min Jih-pao Commentary Denounces Soviet Meddling in Greek Affairs

(NCNA-English Peking, May 25, 1976)

the soviet revisionists' recent meddling in greek affairs "reveals their designs for expansion in greece and the mediterranean," says the "people's daily" in a commentary today.

the commentary notes that greek foreign minister has summoned the soviet ambassador in athens and warned him against his dubious contacts with certain greek political organizations. "this makes it clear that the greek government will tolerate no intervention in its internal affairs," the commentary quotes a greek paper as saying.

the greek press has identified the soviet ambassador as a kgb member who played an important role in the 1968 soviet invasion of czechoslovakia. "the soviet revisionists' flagrant intervention in greek affairs is not fortuitous. it reveals their designs for expansion in greece and the mediterranean," the commentary stresses.

it recalls that the soviet union has long coveted greece for its vital sea passages in the mediterranean. dreaming as the old tsars did of dominating the mediterranean, the soviet expansionists have worked hard to penetrate into that area. after the 1974 cyprus event, they manoeuvred to sow discord between greece and turkey, trying in vain to realize their own expansionist aims.

the soviet union has become all the more eager this year to put greece under its strategic control, the commentary continues. it has carried out one act of expansion after another, ignoring its own loud professions of "friendship" and readiness to "improve relations with greece". soviet naval vessels have often approached greek islands, threatening the interests of greek fishermen and the security of greece. soviet electronic spy ships have also stealthily sailed into greek ports. with its naval units driven out of the egyptian port of alexandria, the soviet union works even harder to secure ports and installations elsewhere. greece thus becomes one of its major objectives for expansion in the mediterranean region. and now its ambassador in athens has actually been engaged in meddling with greece's internal affairs.

"but the greek government and people will not tolerate any soviet intervention in their affairs. greek public opinion has opposed and denounced soviet acts of aggression and expansion in the country. the sinister hand extended by the new tsars to athens once more enables the greek people to see through the heinous features of social-imperialism," the commentary concludes.

Commentary by Hsinhua Correspondent: Beware of Mountebanks !

(NCNA-English Peking, May 26, 1976)

the soviet revisionists have always pretended to be "supporters" of the third world countries in their fight for a new international economic order.

at the current session of the u.n. conference on trade and development (unctad) in nairobi, the soviet representatives have repeated their stock tricks, declaring that the soviet union is "different" from the old-line imperialist countries of the west, that it "supports" the just demands of the third world and advocates "reformation of international economic relations" on the basis of the principles of "equality, justice and respect for sovereignty", and that the soviet union is devoted to ... the "liquidation of all manifestations of inequality, dictates and exploitation in international economic relations".

head of the soviet delegation patolichev in a speech on may 11 at the conference even read the participants a lecture, telling the third world countries to "witness"

the "two essentially contrasting approaches" of the soviet union and the western imperialist countries "to relations with the developing countries." "it would be utterly mistaken not to distinguish one from the other," he said.

what "essentially contrasting approaches" excl. an analysis of the stuff dished up by the kremlin in the past few years in connection with the third world's struggle to destroy the old and establish the new in the international economic field and an examination of some soviet proposals at the current unctad session will lead to the following conclusion: this clumsy self-exposing performance of the soviet social-imperialists is aimed at cheating the world people.

the soviet revisionists' proposals may be summed up in the main as follows:

one. diverting the attention of the third world from its struggle for a new international economic order by peddling the argument that "establishment of a new international political order is the prerequisite to the establishment of a new international economic order". in the past two years the soviet revisionists vociferously advocated that "it is impossible" to "establish a new order in the field of international economic relations" "without a new order in the field of international political relations". in short, the so-called "new order in the field of international political relations" means such rubbish as "peaceful coexistence", "detente" and "disarmament" vigorously peddled by moscow for years. at the current unctad session, the head of the soviet delegation alleged in a speech that establishment of a new international economic order "is directly conditioned by the further strengthening of peace and international security and by the progress in the field of disarmament", that "detente and development" are "two complementary processes" and that "detente" "promises" to the people of the developing countries "direct and tangible economic benefits". obviously, by spreading such fallacies the sinister intention of the soviet union is to divert the anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist and anti-hegemonist orientation adhered to by the third world in its struggle in the international economic field, urging the third world countries and people to engage in "detente", "disarmament" and "peaceful coexistence" and subject their struggle to the soviet diplomatic strategy for world domination.

two. obstructing and sabotaging the struggle of the developing countries for safeguarding sovereignty over their resources by advertising the theory of "limited resource sovereignty". the developing countries have come to realize from their own experience that if they want to develop their national economy, they must defend sovereignty over their own resources. the struggle of

the developing countries for safeguarding their national resources is an important component part of the struggle to replace the old by the new in the whole international economic sphere. in this struggle, the soviet revisionists have further revealed their vicious nature. under the promise of "strict observance" of other countries' sovereignty over their resources, they loudly advertise the theory of "limited resource sovereignty", saying that "although arab oil is arab property in form, it is actually international property" and that "sovereignty over natural resources depends to a great extent upon the industrial capability of utilizing these resources by the developing countries". proceeding from this downright imperialist "theory", the soviet union has stubbornly opposed the stand of the developing countries on the establishment of 200-nautical mile exclusive economic zones, opposed the arab oil-producing countries for unilaterally raising oil prices and became all the more feverish in robbing the developing countries of their natural resources. according to statistics, the soviet union in 1974 robbed the developing countries of 3,500 million dollars' worth of raw materials, 6.6 times that in 1960.

three. trying their utmost to maintain the old international trade order under the cloak of opposing "discrimination" and "inequality" in trade. during the past several years and at the current session of the unctad, the soviet revisionists have boasted with redoubled efforts that "they consistently come out against all manifestations of discrimination and inequality in international trade." they peddle their sinister stuff by taking over the slogan of the third world. this is nothing but selling horse meat as beefsteak. in order to change the absolutely irrational trade conditions, the third world countries have put forward such important proposals as integrated programme for commodities, indexation of raw material prices and so on.

in words, the soviet representatives "welcomed in principle" the integrated programme for commodities and adopted "a positive attitude" towards the question of indexation of raw material prices but in practice they tried by underhand means to emasculate the very essence of the programme. they alleged that "the most important element" in this programme "should be international commodity agreements" and claimed that only through "medium and long-term trade agreements" and by accepting the soviet trade bait and exploitation system can concrete problems be solved. in fact, this is aimed at opposing the establishment of a new international economic order and bringing the trade of the developing countries within the orbit of the kremlin's neo-colonialism.

four. peddling "cooperation in production" and "international division of labour" with the aim of controlling and exploiting the developing countries.

for years, the soviet union has been energetically playing up its "cooperation in production" and "international division of labour" with the developing countries. at the fourth unctad session, it made redoubled efforts to peddle this stuff. in his speech on may 11, patolichev openly declared that the soviet union will lay "emphasis on the long-term cooperation in production" in its economic relations with foreign countries. moscow has lauded to the skies its "cooperation in production" and "international division of labour" with the third world countries as "a new system of international division of labour". in essence, this is merely a refurbished version of "interdependency" long advocated by the old-line imperialists.

according to data from the soviet press, up to last year, the soviet union had signed "agreements on economic and technical cooperation" with 49 developing countries in line with their "international division of labour" and "cooperation in production". under these agreements, the soviet union exports a flow of capital to these countries and according to "the principle of compensation", it gets in return from these "soviet-aided" enterprises huge amounts of important industrial raw materials and products such as natural gas, aluminium, ores, non-ferrous metals concentrate, oil and steel. moreover, it takes away 50 to 90 per cent of the products turned out by some of these enterprises.

in a speech delivered last august, s.a. skachkov, chairman of the state foreign economic relations committee, admitted that this "cooperation in production" based on "international division of labour" makes possible a long-term planning of the imports of commodities needed by the soviet national economy and can ensure the meeting to a fuller extent of the demand for a host of soviet needed commodities. this is no "cooperation" but colonial plunder, pure and simple excl.

in addition, to bring the economy of the third world into the system of exploitation of the soviet social-imperialists, the soviet revisionists have resorted to other ruses. for instance, they attempt to make the moscow-controlled "council for mutual economic assistance" (cmea) as a "model" to impose on the third world countries and to tie them up with the "cmea". in recent years, some developing countries have established one after another their regional economic cooperation organizations to develop their national economy on the basis of collective strength. in this respect the soviet revisionists have also gone in for speculation by asking the member nations of these regional economic cooperation organizations to enter into "bilateral cooperation" with the "cmea" or its member states in an attempt to squeeze into the regional economic cooperation organizations of the third world countries through such "bilateral" relations.

all this shows clearly that the moscow new tsars are obdurate champions of the old international economic order. to throttle the struggle of the third world countries for setting up a new international economic order, the new tsars have outmatched the old-line imperialists in their practice and are more crafty in their ruses. the soviet representatives attending the fourth unctad session preached that the soviet union "supports" the struggle of the third world and that the relations between the soviet union and the developing countries "differ in essence" from those between the capitalist countries of the west and the developing countries and asked the developing countries to distinguish one from the other in "essence". their sinister designs are none other than to divert and get away from the spearhead of the struggle of the developing countries, and at the same time, to peddle their sinister stuff of neo-colonialism to the developing countries under the cloak of "support".

when a fox claims itself to be a vegetarian, the hen must take special care. in the struggle against the old international economic order and for the establishment of a new one, people should heighten their vigilance at all times against all the fine words of the soviet social-imperialists. beware of the mountebanks excl.

CHINA AND SWEDEN

Wang Yeh-chiu Meets Swedish Friendly Personages

(NCNA-English Peking, May 26, 1976)

wang yeh-chiu, director of the state administrative bureau of museums and archaeological data, met and had a cordial and friendly conversation here today with jan myrdal, a swedish friend of china and honorary president of the swedish-chinese friendship federation, and his wife gun kessle.

ting hsueh-sung, vice-president of the chinese people's association for friendship with foreign countries, was present.

CHINA AND THAILAND

Chinese Badminton Association Leader Leaves for Bangkok

(NCNA-English Peking, May 25, 1976)

kuo lei, vice-president of the asian badminton confederation and president of the chinese badminton association, and two others left here today for bangkok to attend the meeting of the standing committee of the a.b.c.

CHINA AND US

California Prefessor and Wife Feted in Peking

(NCNA-English Peking, May 25, 1976)

wu yu-hsun, vice-president of the chinese academy of sciences, yesterday met and hosted a banquet in honour of professor yuan-cheng fung of the university of california, and his wife luna h. fung. they had a cordial conversation.

mr. and mrs. fung arrived in china on april 29 to visit their relatives and tour the country. they visited peking, tientsin and northeast china and had academic discussions with chinese scientists in peking and changchun.

both chou pei-yuan, vice-chairman of the chinese scientific and technical association, and yueh tai-heng, leading member of the china international travel service, met and feted mr. and mrs. fung in peking.

mr. and mrs. fung will soon leave peking to tour southern china and visit their relatives before going home.

SURVEY OF PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA PRESS

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* NATIONAL *
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ANNIVERSARY OF MAY 16 "CIRCULAR"

The Great Cultural Revolution Is for Carrying Out Class Struggle

by

Kao Lu (高路)

(Peking Jen-min Jih-pao, May 25, 1976)

Ten years ago, the great leader Chairman Mao personally presided over the formulation of the May 16, 1966 "Circular" of the CCP Central Committee and systematically put forward the theory, line and general and specific policies of the great proletarian cultural revolution. This brilliant Marxist document has armed hundreds of millions of the masses and illuminated the course of victory of the great cultural revolution. "Wind and thunder are stirring, flags and banners are flying wherever men live." This splendid line written by Chairman Mao on the eve of the great cultural revolution is precisely a vivid portrayal of the decade of the great cultural revolution. This is a decade of combat, a decade of victory.

Chairman Mao pointed out: "What is the great cultural revolution for? To wage class struggle." Early this year he pointed out: "Without struggle, there is no progress." "Can 800 million people manage without struggle?!" Precisely because we carried out the great political revolution of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and all exploiting classes in the past decade, we have destroyed the two bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao, won a great victory in the struggle to criticize Teng Hsiao-p'ing and hit back at the Right-deviation wind to reverse verdicts, and ushered in today's excellent situation: Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung thought is popularized as never before, Chairman Mao's revolutionary line has struck deep root among the broad masses of cadres and the people, the dictatorship of the proletariat is further consolidated, socialist new things have sturdily grown to maturity, socialist construction is ever more flourishing, and all battlefronts are seething with enthusiasm. "Everywhere orioles

sing, swallows dart," and "red flags stream in the wind in a blaze of glory." All this fully shows that class struggle is the key link of all kinds of our work and that revolution can change everything.

The "Circular" points out that the great proletarian cultural revolution is a sharp class struggle. The goal of this struggle is "to criticize and repudiate a considerable number of anti-Party and anti-socialist representatives of the bourgeoisie (there are a number of them in the Central Committee and in Party, government and other departments at the central as well as at the provincial, municipal and autonomous region levels)." In the "Circular" Chairman Mao also clearly and correctly points out: "Those Party persons in power taking the capitalist road who support the bourgeois scholar-tyrants and those bourgeois representatives who have sneaked into the Party and protect the bourgeois scholar-tyrants are big Party tyrants who have usurped the name of the Party. They do not read books, do not read the daily press, have no contact with the masses, have no learning at all, and rely solely on 'acting arbitrarily and trying to overwhelm people with their power'."

Recently Chairman Mao also pointed out: "You are making the socialist revolution, and yet don't know where the bourgeoisie is. It is right in the Communist Party--those in power taking the capitalist road. The capitalist-roaders are still on the capitalist road." This shows that throughout the historical period of socialism, in order to make revolution against the bourgeoisie and especially the bourgeoisie inside the Party, the point of emphasis lies in those in power taking the capitalist road within the Party.

In order to oppose the great cultural revolution and to reverse its verdicts, Teng Hsiao-p'ing has first to repudiate that there is still class struggle in socialist society and that the capitalist-roaders are the most important target of the socialist revolution. When the great cultural revolution just broke out with vigor, Teng Hsiao-p'ing sang a duet with Liu Shao-ch'i, and described the criticism of the capitalist-roaders within the Party by the masses as "a new problem encountered by veteran revolutionaries." Subsequently he also slandered that each movement "impaired" the "veteran cadres." In his yees, the great proletarian cultural revolution was simply carried out entirely by mistake and had made a mess of things.

Is Teng Hsiao-p'ing really a "veteran revolutionary"? No! This man has never been a proletarian revolutionary, but is a bourgeois democrat, an opponent to the socialist revolution. His so-called "new problem" means nothing more than that they themselves have come under fire. Teng Hsiao-p'ing naturally is unwilling to admit this.

As early as in 1949, Chairman Mao pointed out that with the Chinese revolution heading from the stage of democratic revolution into the stage of socialist revolution, the principal contradiction at home was "the contradiction between the working class and the bourgeoisie." Thirteen years afterward, Chairman Mao again brought up the question of class struggle. In the socialist education movement, Chairman Mao for the first time clearly and correctly pointed out: "The matter of emphasis in this movement is to

purge those in power taking the capitalist road within the Party." The great cultural revolution was the continuation of the seventeen years long struggle between the two major antagonistic classes--the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. The outbreak of this major class combat was definitely not a matter of coincidence. It had been in the making for a long time, was unavoidable by force of circumstances, and was the inevitable outcome of the development of the principal contradiction in socialist society.

What Teng Hsiao-p'ing called "veteran cadres" "impaired" were of course not the cadres who followed the great leader Chairman Mao and persisted in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, but another name for capitalist-roaders like Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao. As revealed in the "Circular" they were persons like Khrushchev still nestling beside us. These vermin would do harm to you if they were not destroyed.

The sad lesson of capitalist restoration in the Soviet Union tells us that if the conspiracy of the capitalist-raoders within the Party to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism were successful, or if persons like Khrushchev came into power, the fruits of victory bought with the blood and lives of numerous revolutionary martyrs would be destroyed overnight, and the heads of millions of revolutionaries would roll in the sand. The repeated struggle between the two roads in the seventeen years before the great cultural revolution in China has also made us see clearly that each step forward taken in the socialist revolution would encounter the resistance of the capitalist-roaders within the Party.

In the past, we had waged struggle in the countryside, in factories and in cultural circles. Because there were capitalist-raoders on the stage and behind the scenes, at the lower and upper levels, they worked in collusion and employed all means to suppress the masses, protect themselves and shift the general orientation of the struggle. In particular, due to interference and disruption from Liu Shao-ch'i's bourgeois headquarters, problems could not resolved in these movements.

The great proletarian cultural revolution personally initiated and led by Chairman Mao enabled us to find a very good form to combat and prevent revisionism. "We openly and all-sidedly mobilized the broad masses from bottom to top to reveal our seamy sides," that is, to reveal the bourgeoisie inside the Party and the capitalist-raoders within the Party. Chairman Mao received the Red Guards a number of times, mobilized the people of the whole country, and employed the "four great" weapons (to air one's views, contend and debate to the fullest extent and publicize one's views in big-character posters) to expose and criticize the capitalist-roaders, thus smashing the two anti-Party cliques of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao, and resolving some problems which could not be properly solved for many years.

Practice shows that "the current great proletarian cultural revolution is absolutely necessary and most timely for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, preventing capitalist restoration and building socialism.

As is the case with any great revolution in history which has to go through the struggle between restoration and counter-restoration, the great cultural revolution naturally has also to go through repeated and heated battles.

For the sake of consolidating and developing the fruits of victory of the great cultural revolution and persisting in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, Chairman Mao has personally initiated and led a series of movements to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, to study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and to criticize and discuss Water Margin, and guided the people of the whole country to further criticize revisionism and capitulationism. All this stands for the class struggle waged by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and is for the exercise of all-round dictatorship by the proletariat over the bourgeoisie in the superstructure and the economic base. As the gradual deepening of socialist revolution touches the fundamental interests of the bourgeois inside the Party, they naturally have to offer desperate resistance. Therefore, the struggle between those for and against reversal of verdicts and between restoration and counter-restoration is inevitable.

Teng Hsiao-p'ing's activities to reverse verdicts stand for another rabid attack launched by the bourgeoisie inside and outside the proletariat. At present, the great struggle to criticize Teng Hsiao-p'ing and to hit back at the Right-deviation wind to reverse verdicts is the continuation and deepening of the great proletarian cultural revolution.

From his sabotage of the cooperation movement to his opposition to the criticism and restriction of bourgeois rights, from his advocating the theory of "white cat or balck cat" to his casting forth the program with "the three directives as the key link," Teng Hsiao-p'ing stubbornly pushed a counter-revolutionary revisionist line. After the collapse of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao, he served as the general representative of the new and old bourgeoisie inside and outside the Party. Around last summer, he gathered together capitalist-roaders to whip up the Right-deviation wind to reverse verdicts on various fronts. By declaring that he had "forgotten all those problems in the great cultural revolution," he wanted to obliterate atone stroke the stirring and seething great cultural revolution and tear up the "self-examination" promising that he "would never reverse the verdicts." He clamored that he was "not afraid of being overthrown a second time" for the purpose of inciting his gang--the "home-going contingent"--to go into battle stripped to the waist and launch a frenzied counter-attack in revenge against the great proletarian cultural revolution.

Teng Hsiao-p'ing program, line and slogans gave concentrated reflection to the bitter hatred shown by the new and old bourgeoisie inside and outside the Party and the unreformed landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and rightists toward the great cultural revolution and their aspirations for restoration. They vigorously spread counter-revolutionary political rumors, conspired to sow discord in the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, and vainly attempted to make the dictatorship of the proletariat in China degenerate into bourgeois dictatorship through pushing the revisionist program and line. After the people of the whole country heroically hit back at the Right-deviation wind to reverse verdicts, they offered stubborn resistance with their backs to the wall until they premeditated, planned and organized the counter-revolutionary political incident at the T'ienanmen Square. They wanted Teng Hsiao-p'ing to take office "as premier" and dreamed of using counter-revolutionary violence to realize their political objective of subverting the dictatorship of the proletariat.

As Chairman Mao pointed out in the "Circular": "Those representatives of the bourgeoisie who have sneaked into the Party, the government, the army and various spheres of culture are a bunch of counter-revolutionary revisionists. Once conditions are ripe, they will seize political power and turn the dictatorship of the proletariat into a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie."

Teng Hsiao-p'ing's activities to reverse verdicts and restore capitalism and the counter-revolutionary political incident at the T'ienanmen Square once again tell us that the class enemies in society always take the capitalist-roaders within the Party as their own political representatives, while the capitalist-roaders look upon these people as their own social base. Their class interests and thoughts and feelings are as closely related as each breath is to the next.

The struggle between the two lines within the Party is the struggle between the two major antagonistic classes--the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. Revisionism is the main danger, and the capitalist-roaders constitute the principal target in the continuation of the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. The proletariat must boldly arouse the masses, and thoroughly expose and criticize the capitalist-roaders. It must fully rely on the strength of the dictatorship of the masses and firmly suppress the restoration activities of all class enemies.

The ten years long combat course of the great cultural revolution vividly shows how acute and complicated is the struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and especially against the capitalist-roaders within the Party, and how hypocritical and reactionary is the theory of the dying out of class struggle publicized by the revisionists.

From the frenzied encirclement and suppression of the proletarian revolutionaries by Liu Shao-ch'i and company in the early days of the great cultural revolution to the counter-revolutionary armed coup d'etat launched by the Lin Piao anti-Party clique, and again from the Right-deviation wind to reverse verdicts vigorously whipped up by Teng Hsiao-p'ing to the appearance of the counter-revolutionary political incident at the T'ienanmen Square unknown before since the founding of the people's republic, the soul-stirring scenes of major class battles fully showed that these chieftains of the revisionist line were the figures in command of all social forces and social groups that resisted the socialist revolution, showed hostility toward and disrupted socialist construction and held tests of strength with the proletariat. As the socialist revolution which takes the thorough elimination of all exploitation systems as its aim signifies the advent of the last days of the bourgeoisie, the latter has to wage "desperate" struggle and offer resistance with "the cooking pots smashed and ships scuttled." This determines that the socialist period is bound to be a period in which class struggle is never before so ruthless and the form of class struggle is never before so acute.

The struggle waged by the proletariat against the capitalist-roaders is most complicated. The capitalist-roaders are first inside the Party, and donning the communist mantle they are capable of befuddling the masses. Second, they are in power, and with the seal in hand they can arbitrarily

and coercively turn the tool of proletarian dictatorship into a tool for exercising dictatorship over the proletariat. Third, they are accustomed to taking over revolutionary slogans and making use of legitimate means to push the revisionist line. They practice revisionism but not Marxism. They promote disunity, but not unity. They intrigue and conspiare but are not open and aboveboard. As they carry out these criminal activities, they frequently work in collusion with the bourgeoisie in society and the unreformed landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and rightists and with the imperialists, revisionists and reactionaries in the international arena, thus making the struggle complicated. Only by persisting in using the viewpoint of class struggle to analyze the class essence of the various tendencies and slogans appearing in the movement and to strictly distinguish and properly handle the two different types of contradictions of different nature can we powerfully grasp the initiative in struggle.

The struggle waged by the proletariat against the capitalist-roaders is ever-changing and protracted. Why did some of the capitalst-roaders who had been criticized in the great cultural revolution follow the old capitalist road again not long afterward? Because they are not isolated individuals but represent a class or a line. After a test of strength, although these people are defeated, they do not bow to defeat. History shows that the chieftains of opportunist lines in particular are also difficult to reform. At the right climate, "they could not but leap forth as determined by their own class nature." The class they represent also can do nothing else but to push them onto the stage to carry out a new test of strength with the proletariat.

In socialist society, the old bourgeoisie and the influence of small production will exist for a long time. Furthermore, due to the existence of bourgeois rights and of imperialism and social-imperialism, the new bourgeoisie would spring up and new capitalist-roaders also would emerge. The historical period of socialism as a whole and the long-term character of the struggle between the two classes and the two roads determine that the social phenomenon of capitalist-roaders still on the capitalist road will exist for a long time to come. We can never think that there will be peace after one or two, three or four great cultural revolutions. Therefore, we must be ideologically prepared for a long battle in waging struggle against capitalist-roaders and in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

All revisionists do not acknowledge the existence of class struggle in the period of transition from capitalism to communism. Ever since the concoction of the theory of the dying out of class struggle by Bukharin, the revisionists within the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and our Party have wildly publicized it and used it as a "fire extinguisher" in a vain attempt to extinguish the proletarian struggle against the bourgeoisie. They also use it as a "smokescreen" to shelter the attack launched by the bourgeoisie against the proletariat. Khrushchev and Brezhnev usurped leadership and seized power in this way to restore capitalism. The same was carried out by Liu Shao-ch'i around the 8th Congress and by Lin Piao around the 9th Congress. This was also so with Teng Hsiao-p'ing. Antagonistic to

the line of the 9th Congress and the 10th Congress, he cried on the one hand: "How can we remind ourselves of class struggle every day?" On the other hand, he took the lead in reversing verdicts and carrying out restoration on a large scale.

Chairman Mao hit the nail on the head pointing out: "Liu Shao-ch'i advocated the theory of the dying out of class struggle, but he himself never ceased to wage class struggle. He wanted to protect his bunch of renegades and sworn followers. Lin Piao wanted to overthrow the proletariat and attempted a coup. Did class struggle die out?" This is a deep-going criticism of the theory of the dying out of class struggle advocated by Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-p'ing. As long as there is still class struggle, we must remind ourselves of it year after year, month after month and day after day. The theory of the dying out of class struggle must be thoroughly and repeatedly criticized for a long time.

At the time of commemorating the fourth anniversary of the Russian October Socialist Revolution, Lenin had this to say: "The farther this great day is away from us, the more evident is the significance of the Russian proletarian revolution, and the more profound is also our understanding of the actual work experience as a whole." (Lenin's "Fourth Anniversary of the October Revolution," Selected Works of Lenin, Vol. IV, p. 565) Today, on the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the great proletarian cultural revolution in China, can we also describe our understanding of the necessity and far-reaching significance of this great revolution in this way? Lenin also pointed out: "To celebrate the anniversary of the great revolution, the best method is to concentrate our attention on the revolutionary tasks that have not been resolved." (Lenin's "On the Role of Gold at Present and After the Complete Victory of Socialism," Selected Works of Lenin, Vol. IV, p. 574)

The great proletarian cultural revolution will shine forever. We must seriously study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung thought, and further sum up the matchlessly abundant and lively experience of class struggle in the past ten years and especially the experience in mobilizing the masses to combat and guard against revisionism and to wage struggle against the capitalist-roaders. We must, under the leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, push the struggle to criticize Teng Hsiao-p'ing's counter-revolutionary revisionist line and to hit back at the Right-deviation wind to reverse verdicts to a new climax. We must firmly grasp this key link of class struggle, adhere to the basic line of the Party, advance in the flush of victory along the road opened up by Chairman Mao, and carry through to the end the continuation of the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

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CRITICISM OF "TAKING THREE DIRECTIVES AS KEY LINK"

From the Failure of the "February Outline" to the Bankruptcy of "Taking the Three Directives As the Key Link"

by

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(Peking Kuang-ming Jih-pao, May 26, 1976)

One common feature in the activities of all opportunists is to cast forth a program for attacking the proletariat, to draw the class and social forces represented by them to this program so as to make them take orders from it, and at the same time to hoodwink and pull the wool over the eyes of some people who do not understand the true situation and are low in awareness so as to make them fall under its influence. In the course of revealing, criticizing and repudiating the opportunist program--"Gotha Program," Engels pointed out: "A new program is after all a banner openly established." ("Critique of the Gotha Program," Selected Works of Marx and Engels, Vol. III, p. 31) By comparing and analyzing the "February Outline" concocted by Liu Shao-ch'i and company and the program with "the three directives as the key link" cast forth by Teng Hsiao-p'ing, the arch unrepentant capitalist-roader within the Party, to find out what sort of banner has been established and how they have failed and gone bankrupt, we can see some characteristics worthy of note in class struggle in the period of socialism.

The "February Outline" and "taking the three directives as the key link" are both black banners for opposing the great proletarian cultural revolution. These two revisionist programs have been brought out over a time span of almost ten years, but they have the same object in view, which is to oppose the great proletarian cultural revolution.

With farsight, Chairman Mao saw through the situation of classes and class struggle in socialist society. He personally initiated the criticism of the anti-Party, anti-socialist big poisonous weed Hai Jui Dismissed from Office, directed the spearhead straight at the former Peking Municipal Committee under the control of the renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-ch'i and company who had wormed their way into the Party, and unveiled the overtures to the great cultural revolution.

However, all reactionaries will not step down from the stage of history of their own accord. The bourgeoisie inside the Party with Liu Shao-ch'i as its chieftain made every effort to obstruct the unfolding of this revolution. In February 1966, backed by Liu Shao-ch'i, P'eng Chen and company concocted the "February Outline." This outline fundamentally stood the relationship between the enemy and ourselves on its head and blurred the sharp class struggle on the cultural and ideological front. The outline

made no reference to the question of dismissal from office which was the vital essence of Hai Jui Dismissed from Office as had been pointed out by Chairman Mao again and again. It covered up the serious political nature of this struggle, vainly attempted to incorporate the struggle into so-called "pure academic" discussion constantly publicized by the bourgeoisie, and plotted to apply the brake on and launch a counter-attack in revenge against this great proletarian cultural revolution.

Not long after the "February Outline" was brought out, it fell through. Following this, the bourgeois reactionary line concocted and pushed by Liu Shao-ch'i and Teng Hsiao-p'ing for suppressing the revolutionary masses was also criticized. Guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and through the stirring and seething great cultural revolution, the two bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao were smashed.

However, Teng Hsiao-p'ing at no time changed his bourgeois nature of enmity toward the great proletarian cultural revolution. Not long after he resumed work, he hurriedly cast forth the program with "the three directives as the key link." He wanted to reverse the verdicts of the great cultural revolution and settle scores with the great cultural revolution in a vain attempt to turn back the wheel of history. It was a big lie for Teng Hsiao-p'ing to say that he "has forgotten everything" about the great cultural revolution. In the course of whipping up the Right-deviation wind to reverse verdicts on a large scale, which of the things he did was not first directed against the great cultural revolution? His enmity toward the great cultural revolution could be said to have been "permanent imprinted on his mind." How could he have forgotten it!

In the May 16, 1966 "Circular" of the CCP Central Committee, Chairman Mao earnestly exhorted us: "Those representatives of the bourgeoisie who have sneaked into the Party, the government, the army and various spheres of culture are a bunch of counter-revolutionary revisionists. Once conditions are ripe, they will seize political power and turn the dictatorship of the proletariat into a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie." Chairman Mao prompted the whole Party and the people of the whole country that we must pay full attention to persons like Khrushchev who are still nestling beside us. The vivid facts of class struggle have completely attested to Chairman Mao's wise and brilliant assertion. If the great cultural revolution were not carried out, then it would not take very long for our Party and state to change color. The broad masses of workers and poor and lower-middle peasants and all the people for revolution could never permit this to occur.

Why did the "February Outline" fall through? Because it vainly attempted to stem the torrents of the great proletarian cultural revolution. As such torrents are irresistible, how could it not end in failure? Why did the program with "the three directives as the key link" go bankrupt? Because it tried to reverse the verdicts of the great cultural revolution, and "reversing verdicts goes against the will of people." It could only go bankrupt!

The vital essence of the "February Outline" and "taking the three directives as the key link" is to betray the dictatorship of the proletariat. In socialist society and especially after the basic completion of the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production, are there still

classes, class contradictions and class struggle? Is the dictatorship of the proletariat still necessary? This is the watershed for distinguishing Marxism and revisionism.

Liu Shao-ch'i and company disavowed class struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat. This was most prominently revealed in that counter-revolutionary "February Line" concocted by them. For the sake of upholding the tottering standing of the bourgeoisie in all spheres of the super-structure, they put forward a series of bourgeois reactionary slogans. They used so-called "everybody is equal before truth" to oppose the struggle waged by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, and the making of revolution by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie in the super-structure, including various spheres of culture.

The unrepentant capitalist-roader Teng Hsiao-p'ing dished out the program with "the three directives as the key link" to oppose the grasping of class struggle. On the one hand, he shouted himself hoarse saying, "How can we remind ourselves of class struggle every day?" On the other hand, he mustered the Right-deviation forces for reversal of verdicts to launch unbridled attacks against the proletariat and to whip up the "economic typhoon" or the "vocational typhoon." He advocated "everything for the four modernizations" which was actually everything for subverting the dictatorship of the proletariat and everything for the restoration of capitalism. As was pointed out by Chairman Mao in the "Circular": "They completely deny that the several thousand years of human history are a history of class struggle, completely deny the class struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, the proletarian revolution against the bourgeoisie and the dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie."

This clearly tells us that the struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and against the representatives of the bourgeoisie who have sneaked into the Communist Party to wave a red flag against the red flag is a life-and-death struggle between the two classes. As Chairman Mao has clearly and correctly pointed out, "Our relationship with them is definitely not a relationship of equality, but a relationship marked by the oppression of one class by another, that is, a relationship based on the exercise of absolute rule or dictatorship by the proletariat over the bourgeoisie." The counter-revolutionary political incident which recently broke out at the T'ienanmen Square and the bold and decisive steps taken by us in handling this incident have used vivid facts to show that since the bourgeoisie wants to wage a desperate struggle against the proletariat, the proletariat can only exercise absolute rule or dictatorship over the bourgeoisie, and there is fundamentally not any question of relationship of equality.

Both the "February Outline" and the program with "the three directives as the key link" wave a red flag to oppose the red flag and use Marxist phraseology to emasculate the revolutionary soul of Marxism. In the "February Outline" Liu Shao-ch'i and company distorted the policy of "opening wide" brought up by Chairman Mao at the Chinese Communist Party's National Conference on Propaganda Work in 1957. They obliterated its class content, stood "opening wide" against the exposure of the bourgeois reactionary stand, and used "opening wide" to push bourgeois liberalism. Actually they permitted

only the bourgeoisie but not the proletariat to open wide. They only permitted the bourgeoisie to attack the proletariat but disallowed the proletariat to hit back at the bourgeoisie. The outline also said that "we must, through this struggle and under the guidance of Mao Tsetung thought, open up a road for resolving this question (referring to 'thoroughly liquidating bourgeois ideas in the academic field')." Actually, Chairman Mao's series of brilliant works had long ago opened up the road for the proletariat on the cultural and ideological front, but the outline held that the road had not been opened up and should be opened up afresh. At the time of exposing this swindle fabricated by the outline, the "Circular" pointed out that "the outline attempts to use this banner of 'under the guidance of Mao Tsetung thought' as a pretext to open up a road that runs counter to Mao Tsetung thought' as a pretext to open up a road that runs counter to Mao Tsetung thought, that is, the modern revisionist road or the road to bourgeois restoration."

In "taking the three directives as the key link," Teng Hsiao-p'ing likewise plagiarized the old tune of the "February Outline." Seen outwardly, these three directives are all Chairman Mao's words, but actually the revolutionary contents of the three directives have been emasculated for negating Chairman Mao's consistent teaching on the need to take class struggle as the key link and to grasp the class struggle waged by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie. Didn't Teng Hsiao-p'ing also clamor that "it is imperative to go all out to publicize Mao Tsetung thought"? This was also waving a red flag to oppose the red flag. Actually he wanted to distort and negate "in toto" Mao Tsetung thought and publicize his own revisionist ideas, such as the theme of "white cat, black cat." At the time of exposing the opportunism of the Second National Lenin had this to say: "Marxist phraseology has in this era of ours become a shield for actions that completely forsake Marxism." ("England's Pacifism and English Dislike of Theory," Collected Works of Lenin, Vol. XXI, p. 243)

The "February Outline" and "taking the three directives as the key link" are also the kind of trash already exposed and criticized by Lenin. When the "February Outline" appeared, it was fundamentally not discussed by the "Group of Five," nor had the local Party committees been approached for their views, nor had Chairman Mao's consent been obtained. They adopted improper measures and were arbitrary and despotic. They abused their functions and powers, made unauthorized use of the name of the Central Committee, and issued it to the whole Party in a hurry.

When Teng Hsiao-p'ing cast forth the program with "the three directives as the key link," he did not bring it up for study by the Political Bureau or for discussion by the State Council, much less did he report the matter to Chairman Mao. He vainly attempted to take it as the "general program for all kinds of work" for a long time to come, and impose it on the whole Party and the people of the whole country. This enables us to see that these "high officials" practicing revisionism are "big Party tyrants usurping the name of the Party."

The "February Outline" and "taking the three directives as the key link" both show that the capitalist-roaders are still on the capitalist road. Recently, Chairman Mao pointed out, "You are making the socialist revolution,

and yet don't know where the bourgeoisie is. It is right in the Communist Party--those in power taking the capitalist road. The capitalist-roaders are still on the capitalist road." Chairman Mao's instruction has profoundly expounded the nature, target, and task of the socialist revolution, and clearly pointed out the orientation of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. From the "February Outline" to "taking the three directives as the key link, it is also fully shown that the social phenomenon that "the capitalist-roaders are still on the capitalist road" will exist for a long time in the historical period of socialism. The handful of capitalist-roaders within the Party are at all times following the road of practicing not Marxism but revisionism, the road of opposing the dictatorship of the proletariat and restoring capitalism.

The facts that Teng Hsiao-p'ing supported the "February Outline" and dished out himself the program with "the three directives as the key link" show that he takes the road of opposing the great proletarian cultural revolution, reversing the verdicts of the great cultural revolution and settling scores with the great cultural revolution and is out and out an unrepentant capitalist-roader.

In order to carry out the socialist revolution, and uphold the dictatorship of the proletariat, we must see the bourgeoisie inside the Party and clearly and correctly understand that the target of the revolution in the socialist period is the bourgeoisie, and the revolution's main target is the capitalist-roaders within the Party.

A revisionist program is the concentrated embodiment of the revisionist line. The merciless exposure and criticism of it can expose the true revisionist features of its concocter. The proletarian teachers of revolution, ranging from Marx, Engels and Lenin to Chairman Mao, all first laid hold of their opportunist programs for criticism when they fought against the opportunists. During the great proletarian cultural revolution, Chairman Mao first laid hold of that counter-revolutionary revisionist program "February Outline" for criticism. In the course of leading the whole Party and the people of the whole country to hit back at the Right-deviation wind to reverse verdicts this time, Chairman Mao also first criticized Teng Hsiao-p'ing's "taking the three directives as the key link," thus hitting his vulnerable spot. The "February Outline" failed and the program with "the three directives as the key link" also went bankrupt because they both practiced revisionism and moved against the tide of history. Therefore, their failure and bankruptcy are also inevitable.

Chairman Mao says, "Without struggle there is no progress." The decade of great cultural revolution is our decade of progress in struggle. Although we have won a great victory, the struggle is by no means over. We must take class struggle as the key link, adhere to the Party's basic line, fight for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and vow to carry through to the end the struggle for striking back at the Right-deviation wind to reverse verdicts. Only in this way can we insure that our Party and state will never change color for thousands of years and generations and will forever push forward along the road leading to communism!

* * *

A Sharp Ideological Weapon for the Criticism of "Taking the Three Directives As the Key Link"

- Study of More on Trade Unions, the Current Situation and the Mistakes of Trotsky and Bukharin

by

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Lenin's work More on Trade Unions, the Current Situation and the Mistakes of Trotsky and Bukharin is a written summons to arms for criticizing the revisionist line of Trotsky and Bukharin. In this brilliant writing, Lenin analyzes the reactionary essence and theoretical source of the revisionist line of Trotsky and Bukharin, criticizes the revisionist fallacies they made on political and economic questions, and draws a clear line of demarcation between the principles of Marxism and revisionism. Today, in the great struggle to beat back the Right-deviation wind to reverse verdicts, it is of tremendous actual significance to study again this brilliant work by Lenin.

At the end of 1920, Soviet Russia began to rehabilitate and develop her national economy and further consolidatethe new stage of the dictatorship of the proletariat. At this crucial juncture, the representative figures of the bourgeoisie within the Russian Party --Trotsky and Bukharin--leaped forth to provoke open polemics and carried out sinister activities against the Party. Behind the back of Lenin and the Party Central Committee, Trotsky concocted and cast forth a so-called "programmatic pamphlet"--The Functions and Tasks of the Trade Union--to publicize the view that Soviet Russia had entered into "the economic era" and "the era of production." He submitted that trade unions must be turned into "state organs" and "must devote all their policies and forces to organizing production in a planned way." Moreover, he also advanced the slogans of "tightening the screw" and "consolidating and scrubbing the trade union," maintaining that it was necessary to adopt methods of coercion and the means of giving orders toward the working masses and carry out "consolidation and scrubbing from top to bottom" in the trade unions. In this struggle, Bukharin put together a so-called "buffer group" which outwardly appeared to be without bias and without favor but actually directed their spearhead of attack at the correct line of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party headed by Lenin. In this grave struggle between the two classes and the two lines, Lenin ripped off the mask of Trotsky and Bukharin and deeply exposed the ugly features of their counter-revolutionary revisionism.

Seen superficially, Trotsky's anti-Party activities were making a fuss about the question of trade unions. But the scope of this struggle far exceeded the question of trade unions. The essence of the struggle lay in whether to take class struggle as the key link, insist on taking the socialist road and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat or to negate class struggle, insist on taking the capitalist road and restore the dictatorship of the landlord and bourgeois classes. Lenin hit the nail on the head

by pointing out that Trotsky, in choosing such an extensive topic as the question of trade unions, "had committed a series of essential mistakes involving the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat." (Selected Works of Lenin, Vol. IV, p. 406)

Lenin pointed out that the dictatorship of the proletariat had to be achieved by the vanguard of the proletariat--the Communist Party. The dictatorship of the proletariat must rely on the working class. The function of the trade union is to strengthen the ties between the Party and the masses, persuade the masses and educate and organize them to strive for the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat and for building socialism. The trade union is not a state organ but "is an educational organization, an organization for attracting and training people," and "is a communist school." Lenin sharply pointed out: "Without such a foundation as the trade union, it is impossible to achieve dictatorship." (Selected Works of Lenin, Vol. IV, p. 403) "If the attitude toward trade unions is not correct, the Soviet government will go to ruin and the dictatorship of the proletariat will go to ruin." (Selected Works of Lenin, Vol. IV, p. 441)

Trotsky called for "the nationalization of trade unions" and stipulated that the task of the trade union was simply to "organize production" in a vain attempt to revoke its role as the link for strengthening the ties between the Party and the masses and to write off this fundamental task of realizing the dictatorship of the proletariat. Did Trotsky really "care for production"? No. On the question of developing production, Trotsky negated the correct line of the Party Central Committee headed by Lenin and "pulled backward the Party and the Soviet government." (Selected Works of Lenin, Vol. IV, p. 405) Under the smokescreen of "caring for production, Trotsky took "economy as the criterion" in everything in an attempt to practice coercion and issue orders to the working class, carry out consolidation and scrubbing among the revolutionaries in the trade unions who adhered to the Leninist line and opposed Trotsky's so-called "new tasks and methods," and split the Party and the revolutionary ranks. Trotsky's "program" was a revisionist program designed to launch all-out attacks against the dictatorship of the proletariat politically, ideologically and organizationally in the name of "developing the economy" and was antagonistic to Lenin's Marxist line.

History is a mirror of reality. Today, isn't that unrepentant capitalist-roader within the Party replaying the old tricks of Trotsky and Bukharin? In advancing the revisionist program of "taking the three directives as the key link" to oppose taking class struggle as the key link and tamper with the Party's basic line, isn't that unrepentant capitalist-roader within the Party also raising the banner of "caring for production" and "everything for modernization"? He brought up the question of "reorganization," recruited "hermits" and "called to office those who have fallen in obscurity" on the one hand, and tried to strike down the proletarian revolutionaries on the other hand. Isn't this also for splitting the Party and the revolutionary ranks? Since they negate the Party's basic line and policies laid down by Chairman Mao, how could they properly carry out various kinds of work and speedily realize the four modernizations? Wouldn't what they have done "lead to the downfall of the dictatorship of the proletariat" just the same?

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How to understand and handle the relations between politics and the economy has always been an important content of the struggle of Marxism against revisionism. Trotsky and Bukharin either advanced the view that it is necessary to have the viewpoint of "production" and overcome the one-sidedness of looking at problems politically, or clamored for the unification of looking at problems politically with looking at problems economically, and tried their utmost to advocate the theory of the dying out of class struggle and the theory of productive forces. Lenin refuted them saying: "The whole issue lies (and from the Marxist viewpoint, can only lie) in that if a class does not correctly handle problems politically, it cannot maintain its rule and consequently also cannot solve its production tasks." (Selected Works of Lenin, Vol. IV, p. 442)

Lenin pointed out: "Politics is the concentrated expression of the economy." "Compared with the economy, politics cannot but come first. Without affirming this point, one has forgotten the ABC of Marxism." (Selected Works of Lenin, Vol. IV, p. 441)

Chairman Mao teaches us: "Politics is the commander, the soul." "Political work is the life-blood of all economic work." The commanding role of politics over the economy is decided by the nature, task and characteristics of socialist society. "Politics is the struggle between various classes."

Socialist society is the period in which moribund capitalism and nascent communism fight against each other. The struggle between these two factors constitutes the movement of opposites in the socialist society. The proletariat must transform the world according to its own world outlook, vigorously grasp the struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines, criticize capitalist tendencies, restrict bourgeois rights, create step by step conditions in which it will be impossible for the bourgeoisie to exist or for a new bourgeoisie to arise, and ultimately realize communism. The bourgeoisie--particularly the bourgeoisie within the Party--also would try their utmost to transform the world according to their world outlook, make use of capitalist factors to extend bourgeois rights, lead the socialist cause astray to capitalism and restore capitalism. Therefore, throughout the historical period of socialism, we must take class struggle as the key link, adhere to the Party's basic line and persist in exercising all-round dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie.

In socialist society, the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie is the principal contradiction which conditions and affects other contradictions. No work can fall away from the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. Class struggle is still the motive force for the development of production and the continuous progress of all other causes. In developing economic construction, culture and education, and science and technology, we must take class struggle as the key link, insist on putting proletarian politics in command, grasp revolution, promote production and other work and preparedness against war.

What is the great proletarian cultural revolution for? To wage class struggle, the proletariat's class struggle against the bourgeoisie. Before the great cultural revolution, Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line

was interfered with and sabotaged by Liu Shao-ch'i's revisionist line. In such spheres of the superstructure as literature and art and education, the bourgeoisie even exercised dictatorship over the proletariat. "In a considerably great majority of factories, leadership is not in the hands of the genuine Marxists and the masses of workers." Just imagine, if the great proletarian cultural revolution had not destroyed the two bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-ch'i's and Lin Piao and criticized their revisionist line, the dictatorship of the proletariat would degenerate into the fascist dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. In that case, wouldn't our economy move back to the old semi-feudal and semi-colonial road? If the proletariat cannot maintain its own rule, how can it speak of building socialism and working for "the four modernizations"? Therefore, "it will not do not to carry out the great proletarian cultural revolution." It is "absolutely necessary and most timely for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, preventing capitalist restoration and building socialism."

Chairman Mao points out: "What! 'Take the three directives as the key link'! Stability and unity do not mean writing off class struggle; class struggle is the key link and everything else hinges on it." This important directive of Chairman Mao's is an effective tit-for-tat criticism of "taking the three directives as the key link" advanced by that unrepentant capitalist-roader within the Party. The crux and essence of the revisionist program with "the three directives as the key link" put forth by that unrepentant capitalist-roader within the Party is that it wants people to forget there are still classes, class contradictions and class struggle in the period of socialism. However, they use bourgeois politics to take the place of proletarian politics, and interfere with and sabotage socialist revolution and construction under the smokescreen of "boosting things" in a vain attempt to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism.

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Lenin pointed out: "If a person who proceeds from the conscious application of a given principle has committed mistakes, then there is no way to completely clarify any of his mistakes, including political ones, without finding out the theoretical origin of his mistakes." (Selected Works of Lenin, Vol. IV, P. 449) This teaching of Lenin's clearly points out the importance of theoretically criticizing revisionism.

In this brilliant work, Lenin profoundly exposed and criticized the mistakes of Trotsky and Bukharin. Trotsky vilified that all Lenin cared for was only democracy in form, while what they cared for was to increase production. Assuming the pose of one without bias and without favor, Bukharin conciliated the two fundamentally antagonistic viewpoints and advanced the idea that "no matter whether they are political or economic factors, none of them can be discarded." Lenin pointed out that Bukharin's basic theoretical mistake was that he "stealthily replaced Marxist dialectics with eclecticism." (Selected Works of Lenin, Vol. IV, p. 451)

Eclecticism is a means used by Trotsky and Bukharin to practice revisionism. Under the slogan of overcoming the one-sidedness of looking at problems politically, Trotsky and Bukharin opposed putting proletarian politics above all else because they actually wanted to put bourgeois politics

above all else. Under the cover of being a "buffer," Bukharin took up the cudgels for Trotsky's political mistakes and directed the spearhead of attack at Lenin's correct line. As was pointed out by Lenin, Bukharin "never spoke one word against Trotsky." (Collected Works of Lenin, Vol. XXXII, p. 29) His cry of serving as a "buffer" was actually "nothing more than a helpmate of the most wicked and harmful factional activities." (Selected Works of Lenin, Vol. IV, p. 428)

In advocating "taking the three directives as the key link," that unrepentant capitalist-roader within the Party also adopted eclectic tactics. He waved a red flag to oppose the red flag, mixed up the principal contradiction with the secondary contradiction, and confused and replaced the key link with things hinged on it. He appeared to be fair-minded and always talked in terms of "one the one hand and on the other," as though he considered all aspects of the objective process and was not one-sided in the least. Actually he stood on the side of the bourgeoisie and opposed the proletariat and Party leadership. He gave lip service to the unity but actually created splits; he shouted for modernization but actually practiced revisionism and wanted restoration and regression.

Lenin pointed out: "The Party is now learning and tempering itself in the struggle against this new ailment of factional activities (because we have already forgotten about it after the October Revolution). As a matter of fact, this is a kind of old ailment which probably will unavoidably relapse in several years from now. Nevertheless, we now can and should be able to cure it more quickly and easily." (Selected Works of Lenin, Vol. IV, p. 465)

That unrepentant capitalist-roader within the Party advocates "taking the three directives as the key link," practices reversal of verdicts goes against the will of people." In the face of the broad masses of the people who insist on continuing the revolution under the leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, the unrepentant capitalist-roaders within the Party can only run into snags everywhere in their vain attempt to restore capitalism. Spurred by the great struggle to beat back the Right-deviation wind to reverse verdicts, the whole Party, the whole army and the people of the whole country will certainly further strengthen unity and carry out better all kinds of work.

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STUDY OF THEORY

It Is Necessary To Put Study Above All Else

by

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A great struggle to beat back the Right-deviation wind to reverse verdicts initiated and led by our great leader Chairman Mao himself is triumphantly developing throughout the country. This is the continuation and deepening of the great proletarian cultural revolution and also of the mass movement to study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In this great struggle, Chairman Mao has issued many important directives. Chairman Mao points out: "What 'Taking the three directives as the key link'! Stability and unity do not mean writing off class struggle; class struggle is the key link and everything else hinges on it." He also points out: "Reversing correct verdicts goes against the will of people."

Chairman Mao also pointed out: "With the socialist revolution they themselves come under fire. At the time of the cooperative transformation of agriculture there were people in the Party who opposed it, and when it comes to criticizing bourgeois rights, they resent it. You are making the socialist revolution, and yet don't know where the bourgeoisie is. It is right in the Communist Party--those in power taking the capitalist road. The capitalist-roaders are still on the capitalist road."

Chairman Mao's important directives have summed up the historical experiences of the socialist revolution in our country in the past 20 years and more as well as those of the international communist movement, defended and developed Marxism-Leninism, and deeply exposed and criticized that unrepentant capitalist-roader within the Party and the revisionist line pushed by him. They are powerful ideological weapons for beating back the Right-deviation wind to reverse verdicts and for continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

We must put study above all else, adopt a most serious attitude, and study in a guided, planned and methodical manner Chairman Mao's series of important directives. We must study the basic Marxist theories concerning class struggle, the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. We must study the expositions on classes, class contradictions and class struggle, and in particular expositions on the great proletarian cultural revolution and the struggle against those in power taking the capitalist road within the Party made by Chairman Mao since the 2nd Plenary session of the 7th CCP Central Committee. In the next year or two, we must also study some Marxist philosophy and history of Chinese philosophy, and study some of Lu Hsün's works. In short, we must deepen our understanding on the character, target, tasks and future prospects of the socialist revolution. This is of utmost importance to winning still greater victories in this great struggle to beat back the Right-deviation wind to reverse

verdicts, to the victory of the struggle for combating and guarding against revisionism for a long time to come, and to persisting in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

At the end of 1974, Chairman Mao issued an important directive on the question of theory. Chairman Mao pointed out: "Why did Lenin speak of exercising dictatorship over the bourgeoisie? This question must be thoroughly understood. Lack of clarity on this question will lead to revisionism. This should be made known to the whole nation." "Our country at present practices a commodity system, and the wage system is unequal, too, there being the eight-grade wage system, etc. These can only be restricted under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Thus it would be quite easy for people like Lin Piao to push the capitalist system if they come to power. Therefore, we should read some more Marxist-Leninist works."

The whole Party, the whole army and the people of the whole country actively responded to Chairman Mao's call. They studied the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, strove to clarify the question of why it is necessary to exercise dictatorship over the bourgeoisie, and further criticized the bourgeoisie and bourgeois rights.

Is was precisely at this juncture that the unrepentant capitalist-roader within the Party was extremely afraid that the broad masses, who mastered the theoretical weapon of the dictatorship of the proletariat, would see through their revisionist nature and also their devious designs for restoring capitalism. Hence, he hastily leaped forth to resist Chairman Mao's revisionist line. He cast forth the revisionist program with "the three directives as the key link." He paid lip service to "all-round" implementation of Chairman Mao's directives, but was actually opposed to the exercise of all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie in all realms of the superstructure, and the criticism and restriction of bourgeois rights. He vigorously whipped up the "vocational typhoon" or "economic typhoon," and poured cold water on the mass movement to study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The criticism of Water Margin is an important component of the mass movement to study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Toward this, out of his bourgeois class instinct, he again leaped forth to block it, saying that we should not "think there is rain because we hear the wind." He opposed the criticism of capitulationists, and denied that there were contemporary Sung Chiangs.

These facts tell us that whether or not we study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat is a grave class struggle. That unrepentant capitalist roader within the Party opposes and sabotages the mass movement to study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat because theoretical struggle is closely linked with political struggle. When talking about the forms of revolutionary struggle, Engels pointed out that revolutionary struggles not only come in their political and economic forms, for side by side with these two there is also theoretical struggle. We can never slight the role of theory in revolutionary struggles, nor can we slight struggles over theory.

The victory of Marxism in theory compels its enemies to disguise themselves as Marxists. One of the tactics employed by that unrepentant

capitalist roader within the Party in whipping up the Right-deviation wind to reverse verdicts is to wave a red flag to oppose the red flag. Flaunting the banner of "all-round" implementation of Chairman Mao's various directives, he pushes the revisionist line. This is very deceitful. He advocates the theory of the dying out of class struggle and the theory of productive forces, and passes eclectic sophistry for dialectics. With "taking the three instructions as the key link" put forward by that unrepentant capitalist-roader within the Party, Chairman Mao's principle of taking class struggle as the key link is negated and the revolutionary soul of Mao Tse-tung Thought is emasculated.

Does he really pay attention to the study of the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat? No! Absolutely not! He himself does not study or understand Marxism-Leninism. In his long speeches, there really are pitifully few words that discuss the question of the study of theory, and even if there are one or two, they are also used merely for embellishment. He places other work and the study of theory in juxtaposition, with the object of using the study of theory as a prop. Actually, he wants to squeeze out the study of theory.

Does he really want stability and unity? He strangles revolutionary new things and few forces, and incites the bourgeoisie to counter-attack in revenge. How can we say that he wants stability and unity? What he does is precisely for undermining stability and unity!

Does he really want to boost the national economy? It is necessary to see what line is carried out to boost the national economy. Since taking class struggle as the key link is negated, he can only boost capitalism, bring down socialism and sabotage the economic base of socialism.

That repentant capitalist-roader within the Party waves a red flag to oppose the red flag in order to promote restoration and regression. Toward this kind of people, Lenin once incisely pointed out: "Such a statement of the question is quite incomprehensible and even alien in principle to our present-day quasi-Marxists, who like to take the name of Marx in vain, to borrow only his estimate of the past, and not his ability to make the future." (Selected Works of Lenin, Vol. I, p. 691) The way they disguise themselves makes it more difficult for us to see through them. Only by studying in depth the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat and mastering the telescope and microscope of Marxism can we discern their disguise through the fog of doubt spread by them and clearly recognize their true features.

The history of class struggle tells us that in order to expose the opportunists within the Party and thoroughly criticize their revisionist line, we must exert very great efforts. The ideological system of revisionism is very deep-rooted and will not quickly disappear after downfall of its representative figure. We not only can trace the source of the absurd arguments of the Right-deviation wind to reverse verdicts from old revisionists like Bernstein, Kautsky, Trotsky and Bukharin, and find their close relatives from modern revisionists like Khrushchev, Brezhnev, Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao, but also locate their origin from the ideology of the decadent slave-owning class in ancient times--the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius. In order to eliminate the poisonous influence of this revisionist line, we must thoroughly criticize it.

Marx said: "What is meant by thoroughness is to grasp what is fundamental in a thing." (Selected Works of Marx and Engels, Vol. I, p. 9) Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung thought is a sharp ideological weapon for beating back the Right-deviation wind to reverse verdicts, and can enable us to grasp the essence of things. Only by conscientiously studying the theory of revolution, comparing the actual class struggle and two-line struggle with the history of Marxist opposition to revisionism, and using the Marxist theories concerning class struggle, the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat to analyze classes, class contradictions and class struggle in the historical period of socialism can we see through the class nature of the Right-deviation wind to reverse verdicts and enable our revolutionary mass criticism to hit the vital issue.

Following the deepening of the struggle to beat back the Right-deviation wind to reverse verdccts, many theoretical questions have been placed before us. For example, is there class struggle in socialist society? Why is it that some people cannot clearly see the question of contradiction in socialist society? Why is it said that the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie is still the principal contradiction in Chinese society? Where is the bourgeoisie? Why is it that persons in power taking the capitalist road would appear in the Party? Why is it that some people who did some useful work for the Party during the period of democratic revolution have no desire for progress, fall backward and even oppose revolution in the period of socialist revolution? How to recognize that our country is at present still a bourgeois country without capitalists? Why is it that there are bourgeois rights in this country? Why is it necessary to criticize as well as restrict bourgeois rights? And so on and so forth. We must strive to clearly understand these questions by combining theory with practice.

Marxism holds that the extent to which theory is translated into reality in a place is determined by the degree of need for theory by this place. The struggle to beat back the Right-deviation wind to reverse verdicts requires us to penetratingly study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung thought and correctly understand these questions. We also can have a good grasp of and give the correct answers to the afore-mentioned questions only by means of study in struggle.

At the crucial moments of successive two-line struggles within the Party, Chairman Mao always patiently taught us to conscientiously study revolutionary theory and use it as the guide of all actions. In the period of democratic revolution, for the sake of eliminating the opportunist line of Ch'en Tu-hsiu and Wang Ming, Chairman Mao repeatedly educated the whole Party to step up the study of Marxism. After the founding of new China, in the successive struggles against the revisionist line, Chairman Mao repeatedly called upon the whole Party to read some more Marxist-Leninist works. After the exposure of the Lin Piao anti-Party clique, in particular, Chairman Mao emphasized a number of times the need to "read and study seriously and have a good grasp of Marxism."

In the past, because some comrades failed to read and study adequately, they could not distinguish between Marxism and revisionism and between socialism and capitalism in the two-line struggle. They regarded the fallacy of "the contradiction between the advanced socialist system and the backward social

productive forces" concocted by Liu Shao-ch'i as something correct, regarded "the theory of genius" advocated by Lin Piao as something correct, and were confused by the different "versions" cast forth by others. "Historical experience merits attention." We must respond to Chairman Mao's call, closely associate ourselves with the reality of the struggle to bat back the Right-deviation wind to reverse verdicts, and penetratingly study the Marxist theory on the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Just as stated by Lenin in The State, the question of the essence of the state, including the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat, "is a complicated question that has been made most chaotic by bourgeois scholars and writers." It is no easy job to have a good grasp of it. But so long as we "study, explore and discuss it again and again and consider it from various angles," and continuously enhance our knowledge in the practice of class struggle and the two-line struggle, we would gradually arrive at a clear and thorough understanding.

The revisionist program with "the three directives as the key link" brought forth by that unrepentant capitalist-roader within the Party and the various absurd arguments spread by him have provided us with teaching materials by negative example. In the struggle to beat back the Right-deviation wind to reverse verdicts, by means of penetratingly studying theory, mastering for application the Marxist stand, viewpoint and method, criticizing the revisionist line pushed by that unrepentant capitalist-roader within the Party, and analyzing the class origin and ideological origin giving rise to the Right-deviation wind to reverse verdicts, the broad masses of cadres and the people surely will be able to further raise their theoretical level of Marxism and enhance their fighting power for combating and guarding against revisionism. A contingent of Marxist theorists participated by the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, revolutionary cadres and revolutionary intellectuals will surely further develop and grow strong in the course of struggle.

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CRITICISM OF TENG HSIAO-P'ING

New Upsurge in Criticism of Teng Hsiao-p'ing at Tsinghua University

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the deepening theoretical study and criticism of teng hsiao-ping in the current anti-right deviationist struggle has had a new upsurge at tsinghua university in the chinese capital, according to may 26 "people's daily".

the revolutionary cadres and masses at the university, the paper says, have recently taken their study of chairman mao's series of important instructions to a deeper level and extended their criticism of teng hsiao-ping in order to liquidate the influence and poison of his counter-revolutionary revisionist line.

they have gained a profounder understanding of the far-reaching significance of the current great anti-right deviationist struggle initiated and led by chairman mao himself. the current struggle is the continuation and deepening of the great proletarian cultural revolution. it aims at combating and preventing revisionism, consolidating the proletarian dictatorship, preventing a capitalist restoration and ensuring that our country will continue to advance along chairman mao's revolutionary line. in the course of the present struggle, the millions of revolutionary masses will further grasp the ideological weapon of combating and preventing revisionism, become more capable of distinguishing between genuine and sham marxism, accumulate experience in waging struggle against the party capitalist-roaders and, guided by chairman mao's revolutionary line, persevere in continuing the revolution under the proletarian dictatorship and fight to the end to complete the historic mission of the proletariat.

chairman mao's recent series of important instructions expound the major questions of theory and practice on continuing the revolution under the proletarian dictatorship in a centralized way and are an important development of marxism-leninism. to deepen their understanding of these instructions and make them a powerful ideological weapon to criticize teng hsiao-ping and beat back the right deviationist attempt, the revolutionary cadres and masses of the university also studied relevant marxist-leninist classics and chairman mao's writings. profounder criticism of teng hsiao-ping in the current struggle depends on the thorough study of chairman mao's recent series of important instructions, they said.

what is it that is to be criticized in a deep going way? the university party committee holds that this is

to expose and criticize teng hsiao-ping's unexposed reactionary words and deeds when he went in for revisionism, and to criticize at a deeper level those which have already been criticized.

after the arch unrepentant party capitalist-roader took up work again, he threw off his disguise and, with hatred grown tenfold and frenzy grown a hundredfold, brought all his experience in counter-revolutionary political struggle into play to formulate a program and prepare public opinion for an organized and planned attack on the proletariat. he thus completely betrayed marxism. we must roundly criticize and thoroughly deal with all the crimes he has committed: his crimes of opposing our great leader chairman mao, opposing marxism-leninism-mao tsetung thought and opposing chairman mao's revolutionary line; his revisionist program of "taking the three directives as the key link" and the counter-revolutionary revisionist line; his "all-round rectification" -- plan for reversing the correct verdicts and for restoring capitalism and his revisionist organization line; his reactionary theory of the dying out of class struggle and the theory of productive forces and his counter-revolutionary methods and tactics; his practice of creating political rumours by setting up a rumour-mongering company in the attempt to seize from the party central committee headed by chairman mao the power to form public opinion; and his crimes of negating the great proletarian cultural revolution and settling scores with it in an attempt to sabotage the proletarian dictatorship and restore capitalism.

how to continue the criticism of teng hsiao-ping? summing up what they have achieved in exposing and criticizing teng hsiao-ping in the last few months, the revolutionary cadres and masses of the university are further exposing and studying teng hsiao-ping's counter-revolutionary crimes in an all-round way. on the basis of this effort, they are penetratingly analyzing the essence of his counter-revolutionary revisionist line politically, ideologically and theoretically.

in the course of their criticism, the revolutionary teachers, students and staff of the university are concentrating on tracing the class, historical and ideological origins of teng's revisionist line so as to have a deep-going understanding of his reactionary bourgeois nature. they are criticizing teng hsiao-ping's present as well as his past crimes and are able to show that teng hsiao-ping, liu shao-chi and lin piao were birds of a feather in class origin and that teng hsiao-ping stubbornly continued to carry out the counter-revolutionary revisionist line of liu shao-chi and lin piao. by penetratingly analyzing teng's political

links with the counter-revolutionary incident at tienanmen square, they see clearly that teng hsiao-ping represents the counter-revolutionary interests of the bourgeoisie both inside and outside the party and of the handful of class enemies. it was on their behalf that he levelled his frenzied attacks on the proletariat.

after drawing parallels between the crimes of teng hsiao-ping and those of the opportunists both at home and abroad and by studying the generalities of the opportunist lines, they see clearly that bernstein, trotsky and kautsky and liu shao-chi, lin piao and teng hsiao-ping all peddled what is revisionist in nature whatever disguise is put on it. they combined the criticism of the present restorationist teng hsiao-ping with that of the ancient restorationist confucius to illustrate that the doctrine of confucius and mencius is the major ideological origin of teng hsiao-ping's revisionist line and is teng hsiao-ping's ideological weapon in attempting a capitalist restoration and retrogression.

the revolutionary teachers, students and staff also cited a host of great victories of the great cultural revolution to expose and repudiate teng hsiao-ping's crimes of negating the revolution and settling scores with it.

in deepening the criticism of teng hsiao-ping, it is essential to link the criticism with the practice of the struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines within the party. the capitalist-roaders are still on the capitalist road. what is concerned is not the behaviour of an individual, but the class struggle of the bourgeoisie against the proletariat. the revolutionary cadres and masses of tsinghua university have always directed the spearhead of their struggle at the top unrepentant party capitalist-roader teng hsiao-ping and have won great victories in the anti-right deviationist struggle.

their experience shows that firmly keeping to the general orientation of struggle brings into the fullest play all the positive factors, and unites over 95 per cent of the cadres and masses. during the great cultural revolution, some cadres who committed mistakes as capitalist-roaders realized and corrected their mistakes with the help of the revolutionary masses. they correctly assessed the great cultural revolution and adopted a correct attitude toward the masses and themselves and continued to advance along chairman mao's revolutionary line. many of those who followed teng hsiao-ping in stirring up the right deviationist wind may correct their mistakes in the current struggle. in deepening their criticism of teng hsiao-ping in the

anti-right deviationist struggle, the broad cadres and masses will more thoroughly isolate the handful of counter-revolutionaries engaged in sabotage under teng hsiao-ping's ensign.

at present, the party organizations and the revolutionary masses are summing up their experience in the current struggle. full of revolutionary pride, they are advancing along chairman mao's revolutionary line to win greater victories.

PEKING UNIVERSITY

Historic Changes in Peking University

(NCNA-English Peking, May 27, 1976)

in commemorating the may 16 circular of the central committee of the communist party of china drawn up under the personal guidance of chairman mao, and in hailing the 10th anniversary of the great proletarian cultural revolution, the teachers, staff and students of peking university expressed revolutionary pride as they happily reviewed the historic changes brought to their university in the course of the great cultural revolution.

under the rule of liu shao-chi's counter-revolutionary revisionist line before the cultural revolution, the bourgeoisie both inside and outside the party barred workers and peasants from the university in a hundred and one ways.

the capitalist-roaders in the party and bourgeois intellectuals at the old peking university venomously slandered students from worker-peasant families as "not qualified for college education", and as "only coarse tea cups on which fine flowers can not be painted". they resorted to despicable means of various kinds in examining the students, such as surprise attacks with difficult, out-of-the-way, catch questions, compelling students of worker-peasant origin to repeat their course, and even forcing some to leave the university. immediately after getting rid of the worker-peasant students, they called back to the university more than 60 unremoulded rightist students.

in the entire 17 years preceding the cultural revolution, the bourgeoisie both inside and outside the party used the power in their hands to obdurately push the counter-revolutionary revisionist line. chairman mao's proletarian line on education could not be carried out in the main. the educational system, policy and methods used were almost all old and remained unchanged over the years.

ten years ago, chairman mao's "circular" kindled the flames of the great proletarian cultural revolution which had started burning fiercely in peking and the whole country. the bourgeois dynasty at old peking university collapsed immediately. red guards faced the world and braved the storm, were tempered and matured in the fierce struggle against the capitalist roaders. worker-people's liberation army propaganda teams entered the university and occupied the educational position. worker-peasant-soldier students from all parts of china have since then attended peking university, run it and transformed it in accordance with marxism-leninism-mao tsetung thought. a profound change has taken place in the spiritual outlook of the teachers and students. white-haired professors are filled with new vigour. a new and dynamic atmosphere prevails throughout the campus.

"the people have sent me to the university and i attend it for the sake of the people", the students say. with boundless love for the party and the people, worker-peasant-soldier students have conscientiously studied works by marx, engels, lenin and stalin and chairman mao's works, taken an active part in criticizing the bourgeoisie and revisionism. they have bent their efforts to become workers with both socialist consciousness and culture and be firm fighters in combating and preventing revisionism and consolidating the proletarian dictatorship.

they have withstood the restorationist trend, have the dauntless spirit of going against tide, and never forget the class struggle. they have not only a new spiritual outlook to serve the people but also the ability needed to do so.

peasant girl chang kuei-fu, a second year philosophy student, made a report to national committee members of the chinese people's political consultative conference during the movement to criticize lin piao and confucius. among the listeners were many well-known personages. the concensus of the audience was: confucius and his followers looked down on village girls as "lowly" for two thousand years. today in the c.p.p.c.c. auditorium, a village girl criticized the ancient "sage" and made a marxist analysis of chinese history. this is an epoch-making event. we are witnessing a victory of chairman mao's proletarian line on education.

chiao yin-ho, who returned to his army unit after completing the chinese language course at the university, wrote in his study notes last summer when the right deviationist attempt to reverse correct verdicts was running rampant: taking the three directives as the key link is to deny the party's basic line and delete class struggle. we will allow no capitalist-roader to engage in restoration.

according to peking university's statistical account of the graduation papers of the first three classes of worker-peasant-soldier students, the science students have completed 691 research items since 1973. 181 items reached advanced level in china and 196 items have been or are being adopted by industrial enterprises or research institutes. foreign languages majors have contributed to the struggle against imperialism and revisionism by translating relevant materials in 16 languages totalling 3.5 million words.

these worker-peasant-soldier students are resolute in breaking with the traditional relations of ownership and traditional concepts. they have opposed the old idea of "studying to become officials" by setting examples. their action is a challenge to those party capitalist-roaders who cling to bourgeois right. 46 worker-peasant-soldier students who graduated last march in the heat of the anti-right deviationist struggle, volunteered to work in the countryside and make revolution in tibet, on the roof of the world.

chairman mao teaches us: "in the great proletarian cultural revolution a most important task is to transform the old educational system and the old principles and methods of teaching".

resolutely implementing chairman mao's proletarian line on education, the worker-peasant-soldier students have proceeded from the need to combat and prevent revisionism and to consolidate the proletarian dictatorship, and revolutionized education and gradually turned the old university into a revolutionary crucible for bringing up new generations of builders of socialism.

in the old peking university the department of philosophy confined the students to academic studies, and the lectures were full of feudal, capitalist and revisionist absurdities which poisoned the minds of the students.

since the start of the cultural revolution, the department has followed chairman mao's teachings: "the departments of arts should take all society as their factory" and "liberate philosophy from the confines of the philosophers' lecture rooms and textbooks, and turn it into a sharp weapon in the hands of the masses". it has helped the students to integrate themselves with the workers, peasants and soldiers and acquire knowledge in the course of struggle.

in the anti-right deviationist struggle, the students have joined the workers, peasants and soldiers in studying chairman mao's important instructions and criticized teng hsiao-ping's revisionist programme of "taking the three directives as the key link" and his counter-revolutionary revisionist line; and in the course of this, have acquired a clear understanding of the nature, tasks, target and future of the socialist revolution on the plane of integrating theory with practice, and of the extremely important question of the existence of the bourgeoisie in the communist party.

the law department of the old peking university made students memorize the articles of the law, making no distinction between marxism and revisionism. the law department of the new university settled accounts with the counter-revolutionary revisionist line pushed by liu shao-chi and lin piao, organized the teachers and students to work together with political science and law workers, analyzed various kinds of law cases through social investigation and studied the theory on the dictatorship of the proletariat. last year, after chairman mao's instructions on the question of theory were issued, they went to over 30 units in peking and tientsin to study, discuss and sum up with the workers and peasants the experience in exercising all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie.

professors and students of the old chinese literature department could quote the classics at length to explain why confucius liked to eat meat in cut in dice but they kept silent when the nation-wide movement was unfolded to criticize the bourgeois orientation in the research of the "red chamber", a classic novel in chinese literature. now the new chinese literature department takes an active part in the struggle to strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat in the superstructure and the field of ideology. they stand in the van in commenting on the "water margin", another classical novel in chinese literature. after the anti-right deviationist struggle began, they combined their commentary on the "water margin" with their analysis of modern renegades and the exposure of the ugly countenance of teng hsiao-ping who attempted restoration and betrayal.

before the cultural revolution the old biology department was only interested in a collection of odd subjects unrelated to actual struggle. now the teachers and students of the entomology speciality go in for open-door education in the rural areas of anyang county, honan province, and, with the poor and lower-middle peasants there have achieved good results in preventing and controlling the harmful cotton aphis.

the old peking university regarded mathematics as "the queen of the sciences" and something "created by inspiration", openly alleging that "mathematics develop

can only through divorce from reality". through the cultural revolution, the teachers and students of the mathematics dynamics department are now persisting in serving socialist revolution and construction. they make investigations and study in factories, rural areas, mines, army units and scientific research institutions and conduct extensive mathematics research activities, from surveying underground water and water dam designing to petroleum prospecting and geological mineral detecting; from industry and agriculture to national defence construction, and from the underground to the air and sea. of the items they have studied, 13 have filled internal gaps, 24 have reached advanced national levels and 37 have been adopted in industrial and agricultural production, making a direct contribution to socialist revolution and construction.

"schools are factories, factories are schools". under the guidance of chairman mao's brilliant thinking on education, peking university has set up nine school-run factories and three rural bases for education revolution.

the electronics instrument factory run by the university is an advanced unit in carrying out the new system of the three-in-one combination of teaching, production and scientific research. teachers, students and workers of the factory, adhere to the principle of combining theory with practice and work in close coordination with other units. they have successfully manufactured the country's first electronic computer with integrated circuits that does a million operations per second and offered for the first time in the country the complete software and a monitor required for multi-programming after three years' of effort. they also succeeded in manufacturing china's first 1024 bits random access memory and the first super-speed 4 bits semi-adder, filling up more than a dozen blanks in the country's science and technology and making contributions to the development of the country's electronics industry. some items have reached the advanced international level.

"the correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything," chairman mao says. and in fact, the tremendous changes of the university in the past decade have, in the final analysis, been brought about by the change of line and change of leadership.

reviewing the fighting course in the past decade since the start of the cultural revolution and the historic changes that have taken place in the university, the teachers, students and workers have pledged to study more conscientiously marxism-leninism-mao tsetung thought and the series of chairman mao's instructions, to persist in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, advance from victory

to victory and carry through to the end the great struggle to criticize teng hsiao-ping and beat back the right deviationist attempt at reversing correct verdicts. in this way they will defend the fruits of victory of the great proletarian cultural revolution, bring new breadth and depth to the educational revolution, further strengthen the all-round dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie and write new and still more radiant chapters in the history of the proletarian revolution in education.

REVOLUTION IN LITERATURE AND ART

Theatrical, Literary Upsurge in Multi-National Sinkiang

(NCNA-English Urumchi, May 26, 1976)

the new creations in the performing arts and literature of multi-national sinkiang are blossoming like a hundred flowers, thanks to the process of weeding through the old to bring forth the new and the popularization of the model revolutionary theatrical works.

a campaign to popularize the theatrical models is sweeping across the sinkiang uighur autonomous region. the sinkiang opera theatre has produced an adaptation of the modern revolutionary peking opera "red lantern" in the uighur vernacular. the uighurs, kazakhs and other minority nationalities have also adapted several other model operas, either in full or in part, as well as other forms of drama.

these latest achievements in the revolution in art and literature have opened new vistas for the further development of the national theatrical arts of the minorities in sinkiang.

an all-peasant sparetime theatrical group from polo county has produced in the uighur vernacular a full-length version of "azalea mountain" adapted from the modern revolutionary peking opera of the same title. the group worked hard to overcome the many difficulties entailed in this theatrical "transplant" but managed to complete it in a few months.

mobile professional troupes are touring the scattered herdsmen's communities. they have boldly adapted the theatrical models to incorporate kazakh-style folk

singing accompanied by the plucking instrument called dombra. in this way they are popularizing the theatrical models in mountain villages and pastoral areas.

in the process of "transplanting" the theatrical models, improvements have been made in the traditional theatrical forms of the minority nationalities so that these theatrical arts can more vividly express the ideological essence of the model revolutionary theatrical works.

the sinkiang opera theatre has improved and developed the traditional uighur folk musical form of the "twelve mucam" in the "red lantern." it not only brings to life the ideas, character and integrity of li yu-ho and other heroes of the proletariat in the opera, but also marks a revival of the centuries-old "twelve mucam" form.

in adapting "taking tiger mountain by strategy" to the unique kazakh folklore style which combines poem-recitation and singing, the artists have created the new in this art form by weeding through the old. the performers were a group of old, middle-aged and young professionals. they made conscientious efforts to learn from the experience gained in creating the model revolutionary theatrical works to improve on the folk art form. as a result, their performances are true to the theme, characterization and plot development of the original, and extend and invigorate their folk art.

in polo county, the uighur version of "azalea mountain" has been a rousing success. the news, spread by peasants and herdsmen of various nationalities, brought poor and lower-middle herdsmen on horseback from across the mountains and rivers to attend the performances.

the uighur version of the opera "red lantern" is now in its fifth year. it has drawn capacity audiences at each of the 300 performances given since 1972.

new poems, prose pieces, novels, plays, ballads, song and dance items and works of fine art has emerged in spate in sinkiang. in both quality and quantity, they surpass those created before advent of the cultural revolution.

"at the foot of kyzyl mountain" is the first full-length novel by an autnor of uighur nationality since liberation. the author, young koyumu tuerhti, portrays the heroic image of the uighur poor and lower-middle peasants in sharp and complicated class struggle involved in the movement to learn from tachai in agriculture. it has drawn favourable comment from worker, peasant, soldier readers of all nationalities in china.

sinkiang has the reputation as the "homeland of songs and dances" in china. a new song and dance item entitled "people's communes are fine" is now being presented. it is imbued with the spirit of the era and

is strong in national character, improving on traditional sinkiang songs and dances and the traditional musical form of the "twelve mucam". the song-and-dance number shows the tremendous changes in the sinkiang countryside since liberation and the militant experiences of the peasants of various nationalities in taking the socialist road. it sings the praises of the wise leadership of the party and chairman mao.

FEATURE FILMS

Ch'un-Miao -- Feature Film Portraying Cultural Revolution

(NCNA-English Peking, May 27, 1976)

"spring shoots", the first feature film with the great proletarian cultural revolution as its theme exposes and denounces on the screen the party capitalist-roaders -- the main target of this revolution.

the heroine of this film, tien chun-miao (spring shoots) is a young rural bare-foot doctor, a representative of the revolutionary forces that wage resolute struggle against the capitalist-roaders who pursue a revisionist line of serving only a few in health and medical work. the name "spring shoots" symbolizes the young seedlings that sprout in spring piercing the hard crust of the earth to grow vigorously.

clearing all the obstacles placed in its path by the right deviationist wind, the film has been on show since last national day when it promptly began to demonstrate its role as a tool in the class struggle.

the film became a thorn in the side of teng hsiao-ping, the arch unrepentant party capitalist-roader who walked out in the middle of the showing and labelled it as being "ultra-left". in that same month, however, the shanghai film studio that made the film received over 300 letters from workers, peasants and soldiers warmly praising it. three p.l.a. men wrote: "thank you for shooting such a film of such exceptional excellence in expressing the common feelings of the workers, peasants and soldiers." middle school graduate settled in the countryside near nanking wrote: "chun-miao is a rebel who has lighted a revolutionary torch in my heart." a worker from szechwan said in his letter: "your shooting of 'spring shoots' has made us

workers, peasants and soldiers very happy. but it will certainly make some people unhappy. may you continue to make greater contributions to combating and preventing revisionism." the poor and lower-middle peasants who provided lively material and sought after opinions said: "what the film shows is our own actual experiences. we cannot do without the cultural revolution."

bare-foot doctors are doctors of a new kind, who are at the same time peasants and doctors, and emerged in the struggle against the revisionist line in medical and health work. after 10 years the ranks of the barefoot doctors have now reached 1,500,000, a mighty force in the medical and health work in rural areas that has broken the bourgeois monopoly in this field.

this colour feature film takes as its background the rural area of southern china, where barefoot doctors first originated.

the story develops in three stages:

-- accusation. before the cultural revolution, medical and health work under the revisionist line served only a few in the urban areas and ignored the needs of the peasants who comprise 80 per cent of the country's population. the commune hospital led by tu wen-chieh and bourgeois doctor chien chi-jen, chief of the doctors' group, cares little about the lives of the peasants. condemnation of their attitude reaches a climax when a peasant baby dies for lack of timely treatment. "this must not be allowed to go on excl." is the call that comes from chun-miao, the women's team leader who escorts the baby to the hospital, and echoes the call of the broad masses.

-- struggle and suppression. in 1965, chairman mao severely criticized the ministry of health and named it "the ministry of health for urban overlords" and issued the call "in medical and health work, put the stress on the rural areas." chun-miao is elected by the poor and lower-middle peasants to study medicine at the commune hospital. she goes through an arduous struggle, including breaking with the traditional prejudices of those who look down on "the hands that hold a hoe", the difficulty of having little schooling and on top of everything, the attacks and harassments put up by the bourgeoisie and its agents inside the communist party who still dominated science and culture. "the peasants want to become doctors?" the reactionary chien chi-jen immediately senses that once chun-miao is allowed to succeed, he and those like him will have no ground to stand on. communist party member tu wen-chieh, an apprentice in the old society, has forgotten the basics of the revolution and become a capitalist-roader who goes in for revisionism and acts as a spokesman for chien chi-jen. chun-miao is forced to leave the hospital.

after returning home, she uses what she has learned from her revolutionary comrades to treat her fellow peasants. the peasants warmly support her and make a special medical kit for her. but tu wen-chieh refuses to recognize her the right to write out prescriptions of any sort and confiscates the kit.

-- rebellion. the great cultural revolution begins. chun-miao and her fellow "bare-foot" doctors join the revolutionary medical workers of the hospital in waging a struggle against the capitalist-roader tu wen-chieh who falsely accuses them of committing anti-party crimes to suppress them and then tries to damp down their struggle by offering them material rewards. on the other hand chien chi-jen schemes to create an incident and then shift the responsibility onto chun-miao. the revolutionary masses expose this scheming, seize back the leadership of the commune hospital, and settle scores with the revisionist line in the medical and health work.

the theme of the film is on the principal contradiction in the period of socialism, that is, between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. the main danger at present is revisionism, and the target of the revolution is the bourgeoisie with the main target of the revolution, the party capitalist-roaders.

the salient feature of the film is how to distinguish between right and wrong and assess people on the basis of the line. thanks to the correctness of their political and ideological line, chun-miao, an ordinary village girl, grows into a revolutionary path-breaker and fang ming, a student trained in an old school, becomes a revolutionary intellectual who is welcomed by the poor and lower-middle peasants. without this, things would have turned out differently. due to the incorrectness of his political and ideological line, tu wen-chieh, an apprentice in the old society, has degenerated from a communist into a capitalist-roader who goes in for revisionism.

the film writing and shooting group spent seven years in producing the film. the group toured dozens of people's communes and production brigades in the chekiang-kiangsi mountain areas in east china to thoroughly familiarize themselves with the life and work of hundreds of party cadres, poor and lower-middle peasants, medical workers and "bare-foot" doctors. members of the group lived and did farm work alongside the "bare-foot" doctors. they joined them in their study and in criticizing revisionism. together with "bare-foot" doctors, they also visited and offered treatment to a great number of peasant families.

three young editors and leading actors and actresses are new film workers who came to the fore during the great cultural revolution. the peasants' hearty

support to the cultural revolution and bitter hatred for the revisionist line in the medical and health work greatly moved and educated them. it inspired them to bring what they had seen and learned onto the screen.

PEASANT PAINTERS

More Peasant Painters Come Forward in Struggles in Well-known Northwest China County

(NCNA-English Sian, May 27, 1976)

"the cultural revolution is fine" is the title of a fine art exhibition held recently in shensi province's huhsien county, known as "home of peasant painting". the majority of the over 600 works on display were by painters who have emerged in the great proletarian cultural revolution.

these new pictures are on themes aimed at pushing forward the current political struggles. they have a clear-cut class stand and militancy. they are in praise of the new socialist people, things and customs and are weapons to chastise the enemies and drive out the old forces of habit. they are bold and original in artistic composition, free of the trammels of convention. the visitors were deeply impressed.

huhsien county boasts well over one thousand amateur painters, 80 per cent of whom emerged with the advent of the cultural revolution. there are amateur painters in each of the 500 production brigades in the county's 21 communes.

chiao san-ho, of poor peasant origin, in chiaopao brigade, wuchu commune, was a hired hand for a landlord for 15 years in the old society. emancipated by the communist party and chairman mao, he cherishes boundless love for the new society. he learned to paint in order to express his determination to follow the communist party firmly along the socialist road. in his spare time, he drew portraits and sketches for practice, and put up his pictures on the walls outside his gates to get comments and help from the masses. holding up his strong, calloused hands, he says: "now i paint pictures with this pair of hands which in the old society could only toil for the landlords. i want to express what is in the bottom of my heart, to say that socialism and the cultural revolution are splendid excl."

in criticizing lin piao and confucius, chiao san-ho and others drew many pictures to denounce the crimes of lin piao and confucius. he said: "now that the poor and lower-middle peasants are masters of the country, we draw pictures for the sake of revolutionary struggles. we have to occupy the cultural front in the superstructure to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat." he worked hard to draw many pictures with distinctive characteristics in a short period of time.

one day last year, chiao san-ho was ascending the bell tower, the tallest building at the county seat, to do a painting. since the start of the cultural revolution, the tower has become a centre for the local peasant painting exhibitions. chiao recalled that once, before liberation, he had been locked in the building after his arrest by the kuomintang reactionaries. contrasting the past with the present, he was too moved to control his tears. he drew a new year picture "former hired hand lectures on theory" to express his feelings on studying the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat. this picture received many favourable comments from the visitors in the exhibition.

thirtytwo-year-old hsu yu-mei of the kuoching brigade of the laoyu commune began to paint in 1974. that year she attended a painting class for amateurs run by the county. there she studied chairman mao's "talks at the yenan forum on literature and art" and came to see that revolutionary literature and art play a tremendous role "for uniting and educating the people and for attacking and destroying the enemy". after returning to her village she organized a fine arts group in her brigade. its members painted revolutionary murals, put up blackboard papers and mass criticism bulletins. when teng hsiao-ping, the arch unrepentant party capitalist-roader, attacked the new things emerging in the cultural revolution, it roused her wrath and to strike a blow against him, she painted "beat back right deviationist wind", "a barefoot doctor gathers herbs on a hill" and "an evening political school in a mountain village".

a big proportion of the new peasant painters in huhsien county are middle school graduates who returned to work in their home villages during the cultural revolution.

"strike sound roots from childhood" was judged one of the best paintings in the national new year picture exhibition last year. it describes the aspiration of the young intellectuals to take firm roots in the countryside to make revolution. in the distance the vast socialist countryside serves as the setting for a sturdy pine which represents the glory of the revolution. in the foreground are many children who are carrying pine saplings ready for planting. the theme is there are many successors to the revolutionary

cause. the old poor peasants who lead the children in planting trees hope that the children will strike sound roots from the very beginning and grow sturdily like pine saplings in the teeth of storm.

this picture was painted by 21-year old ma ya-li of the pitou brigade of the yuchan commune. a girl graduate of a junior middle school, in 1970 she returned to do farm work in her home village and took up painting.

another painting of hers is "the brigade's chicken farm", a lively picture showing hundreds of chickens of different sizes and colours against a background of green fields. this picture, which celebrates the growth of the collective economy of people's communes, was selected as part of the exhibition of peasant paintings of huhsien county and has been shown all over china and in many other countries.

ma ya-li is now secretary of the brigade's communist youth league branch. she encourages youth league members, young people and members of the fine art group to study marxist-leninist works, participate in collective productive labour and become good commune peasants.

amateur artists in huhsien county are not divorced from labour. they become one with the masses in thinking and feelings and put down deep roots among them. liu jui-chao, a member of the hsiaohsi brigade of the kuangming commune, has done quite a number of fine pictures although he started to learn to paint only two years ago. he said: "the sweat of labour can wash off the dust of bourgeois thinking and help us retain the true qualities of the working people. only thus can we draw the paintings the workers, peasants and soldiers like."

last winter he took part in the work of harnessing the taiping river, the county's biggest water conservancy project. in icy cold weather he stripped off his cotton-padded jacket, worked unremittingly and went wherever difficulties arose. he drew sketches during the work breaks and improved upon his drawings at night while the others were asleep.

he was deeply moved by the many selfless and outstanding deeds he witnessed at the work site. with revolutionary passion he drew a series of paintings entitled "impossible to paint all the heroes at work site" to depict the grand project and the soaring enthusiasm of a group of heroes at the construction site. he wrote a poem for each painting. he was chosen as labour hero by the masses at the work site and was awarded a new spade. liu jui-chao drew another picture "i love my painting brushes". in the background is an irrigation project with work going on at full steam.

in the foreground is a young man with great beads of sweat on his face who is carefully wiping the mud off his spade. liu jui-chao said: "this is a painting made as a reminder to myself. in order to wield the 'instrument' for art well, it is essential to wield well the 'instrument' for the labour of building socialism."

IRRIGATION PROJECTS

Key Project of Irrigation Network Completed in Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region

(NCNA-English Huhehot, May 27, 1976)

one of the key projects of the irrigation network in the hashai lake area has been successfully completed on the tumet plain, a well known grain producing area in the inner mongolian autonomous region.

the irrigation project irrigates 19,300 hectares of farmland through lifting water by stages. first a pumping station near paotou lifts water from the yellow river to the hashai lake through the minsheng canal, from which four other pumping stations with 18 regulators at various levels relay water to the farmland.

the completion of this project will play a big role in changing local natural conditions and turning the tumet plain into a commodity grain centre in the inner mongolian autonomous region.

when teng hsiao-ping, the arch unrepentant capitalist roader in the party, stirred up the right-deviationist wind to reverse the correct verdicts last summer, the party committee at the construction site, adhering to class struggle as the key link, led the workers of various nationalities in criticizing revisionism and capitalism and going all out for socialism. this helped fire the workers' enthusiasm for socialism and speeded up the construction of the project which was completed in a year's time.

TIBET

Young Cadres Active in Tibet County

(NCNA-English Lhasa, May 27, 1976)

several hundred young cadres of the markham county, tibet, have been promoted to leading posts in the course of the great proletarian cultural revolution.

young people account for half of the leading cadres of the county, district and commune levels and one-third of the 18 standing committee members of the county party committee are young people.

most of these young cadres are from poor families. some 17 years ago, like the other serfs, they led a life of starvation and poverty. in 1959, the democratic reform led by the party saved them from a hell on earth and they become masters of the new society. they are now active in the van of the struggle in building a new socialist tibet.

achang has been deputy secretary of the county party committee since 1974. before the democratic reform, he and the other members of the family lived in a small hut, relying on what their parents got from the serfowners for the heavy manual work they were forced to do. his father died of an illness after years of unrelieved toil and achang at the age of 10 had no choice but to graze flocks and herds for the serfowners. after the democratic reform, he became a hsiang (township) head. at that time he began to study revolutionary theory and culture. his class consciousness was greatly deepened and he came to understand that the socialist road was the road of happiness for all the emancipated serfs.

in the great cultural revolution, he worked eagerly to spread the superiority of the collective and took the lead in helping to set up a people's commune in jizhong. there he led commune members in transforming the stone-strewn hill slopes into terraced fields and building irrigation facilities to turn 90 per cent of the arid land into fertile fields. in 1973, his commune was cited as an outstanding unit in the county's drive to learn from tachai in agriculture.

after working as a county party committee member, achang became even more vigorous in leading commune members to take the broad road of socialism. because of poor political work, the gadnyag commune once lagged behind and its grain output remained for years at 2.25 tons per hectare. last year, achang went to the commune and worked in the fields with the commune members, studying with them the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat and criticizing bourgeois tendencies. this helped raise their political consciousness and

fired them with socialist enthusiasm. last year, achang and the commune party branch leaders mobilized the commune members to dig four ditches and a pond and build nearly 20 hectares of fertile fields that give steady high yields. the commune's grain output leaped to 3 tons per hectare.

kalzang jigmed, 22 years old, is deputy director of the chisung-gang commune. the commune's fields were scattered on the mountain slopes, situated on the west bank of the chinsha river, where the soil was thin and output low. hundreds of hectares of wasteland were higher than the river bank. last autumn, kalzang jigmed and other leaders of the commune put forward a plan for building a new socialist village. in command of the project, kalzang jigmed took the lead in the dam-building work by tying a rope round his waist and lowering himself over cliffs to quarry stones and detonate explosives. his selfless devotion to the work encouraged the commune members, who built a 7-kilometre-long canal across rock-strewn hills in half of their planned time and within 20 days completed an irrigation canal winding around the hills. in addition, they reclaimed 53 hectares of wasteland which has now been planted to maize seedlings.

other young cadres of the county are also active in leading the emancipated serfs in making socialist revolution and construction. they have assiduously studied proletarian revolutionary theory, participated in physical labour and paid attention to developing close links with the masses.

holihsi of nahsi nationality is one of the county party committee leaders. he has tried his best to grasp every single possible moment to study marxist-leninist works and works by chairman mao wherever he happens to be, in the countryside or in the office. he has now finished reading the four volumes of the selected works of mao tsetung and six marxist-leninist works including "manifesto of the communist party" and "the state and revolution". he has paid attention to connecting his study closely with his own ideology and questions arising in work. he often works alongside the local people as an ordinary worker and refuses any special privileges.

in old tibet, women had no right to take part in social activities and were cruelly oppressed. now women cadres of the county have taken the lead in smashing the various spiritual shackles. they encourage the women to shoulder revolutionary tasks and production and to play a positive role as revolutionary pathbreakers.

chhoenyid wangmid is secretary of the gyaltsog commune and alternate member of the county party committee. she led women commune members in breaking with outdated conventions and generations-old backward customs

and criticizing religious authority. the women put up shelters and paddocks, dug ditches to lead in water, planted grain and grass and popularized fine good strains. the commune was hit by a snowstorm of unprecedented size last year. chhoenyid wangmid and other commune members worked hard and long to ensure that total head of cattle last year was 12 per cent more than in 1974 or 57 per cent over the figure when the commune was set up.

young cadres have modestly learned from the rich experience in struggle and fine traditions of the veteran cadres. in turn, veteran cadres have shown revolutionary enthusiasm in helping the young cadres. the three-in-one combination of the old, middle-aged and young has shown its vitality in leadership.

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* FOREIGN RELATIONS *
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CHINA AND AUSTRALIA

Australian Paper Hails China's Great Victory in
Beating Back Right Deviationist Attempt
to Reverse Correct Verdicts

(NCNA-English Peking, May 27, 1976)

the australian paper "vanguard" in an article on may 20, acclaims the great victory in china in beating back the right deviationist attempt to reverse correct verdicts.

the article says: "deep lessons are being learned by all australian revolutionaries from the struggle of the chinese revolutionaries against the right-wing restorationist activities of teng hsiao-ping.

"the bourgeoisie never ceases to try to restore capitalism, never ceases to try to undermine socialism.

"teng hsiao-ping represented the old capitalist -- landlord elements and the new bourgeois elements that arise. he attempted to reverse the wonderful victories of the proletariat in the great proletarian cultural revolution."

it points out: "all peoples must make their own revolution and revolution can neither be imported nor exported but the existence and development of socialism in china is the most splendid encouragement and support to all revolutionaries. by the same token, the support of the masses of the world for socialism in china is of fundamental importance."

it points out that teng hsiao-ping was cast in the same role as the imperialist agent nagy in hungary in 1956, but the mailed fist of the chinese proletarian dictatorship put a rapid end to the dreams of the counter-revolutionary forces all over the world.

"we warmly hail the great achievements of that dictatorship of the proletariat and the continuing socialist revolution under it", the article says.

it concludes by saying that "all australian revolutionaries will deepen their study of the theory of struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat, earnestly study (the works of) marx, engels, lenin, stalin, mao tsetung."

Peking Reception Honors Australian Tennis Team

(NCNA-English Peking, May 28, 1976)

the chinese tennis association gave a reception here this evening to welcome the australian tennis team led by n.a. fraser on a friendly visit to china.

present at the reception were mou tso-yun, leading member of the host association, chu tse, leading member of a department concerned, and chinese tennis players.

australian ambassador to china s.a. fitzgerald attended.

the reception was permeated with a friendly atmosphere. hosts and guests toasted the constant development of the friendship between the chinese and australian people and between their sportsmen.

the australian friends arrived in peking yesterday.

CHINA AND AUSTRIA

Austrian Ambassador to China Gives Banquet in Celebration of Austria-China Diplomatic Relations Anniversary

(NCNA-English Peking, May 27, 1976)

eduard tschoep, ambassador of the republic of austria to china, gave a banquet at the embassy here this evening on the occasion of the 5th anniversary of the establishment of austria-china diplomatic relations.

among the guests were ho ying, vice-foreign minister, and ko po-nien, vice-president of the chinese people's institute of foreign affairs.

the banquet proceeded in a friendly atmosphere. both ambassador tschoep and vice-minister ho ying toasted the constant development of the friendly relations and cooperation between austria and china.

CHINA AND CONGO

Handing-over Ceremony of Limestone-crushing Plant Held in Congo

(NCNA-English Brazzaville, May 26, 1976)

the madingou limestone-crushing plant built with chinese aid was handed over today at a ceremony held in madingou, capital of bouenza region of congo.

over 1,000 inhabitants of madingou in festive costume gathered in front of the plant. singing and dancing, they celebrated the new achievement of the people of congo and china in strengthening their friendship and cooperation.

attending the ceremony were prime minister louis sylvain goma, minister of mines and energy alphonse mboudo-nesa, other congolese government leaders, officials of bouenza region and leading members of mass organizations.

chinese ambassador to congo lu chih-hsien, the head of the chinese technological team and chinese technical personnel were also present.

speaking at the ceremony, the congolese mines and energy minister and the chinese ambassador warmly greeted the completion of the plant and wished the steady strengthening and development of friendship and cooperation between the two countries.

minister nesa said, "this plant will turn out a product to enrich agriculture, the key economic sector of the country." the congolese government has declared agriculture as the priority of priorities, he added.

joseph nzaba, president of the regional executive committee of bouenza, also spoke at the ceremony.

the prime minister cut the ribbon. accompanied by the chinese ambassador, the congolese leaders inspected the plant.

the plant which started construction in november 1974 will help facilitate the amelioration of soil.

CHINA AND JAPAN

Chinese Vice Premier Chi Teng-kuei Meets Japanese Guests

(NCNA-English Peking, May 27, 1976)

vice-premier chi teng-kuei met and had a cordial and friendly conversation here this afternoon with the fourth delegation of the japanese national council for japan-china friendship led by yoshikazu miyazaki with masanori kikuchi as secretary-general.

members of the delegation attending the meeting were yoshihisa maeno, daijiro tsuru, hiroharu seki, setsurei tsurushima, mitsuharu ito, masakuni kitazawa, masahiko sugie.

present were president liao cheng-chih, vice-president chang hsiang-shan and secretary-general sun ping-hua of the china-japan friendship association.

Chinese Amity Association President Fetes Japanese Friend

(NCNA-English Peking, May 27, 1976)

liao cheng-chih, president of the china-japan friendship association, gave a banquet this evening in honour of aiichiro fujiyama, chairman of the japanese dietmen's league for japan-china friendship and chairman of the japan association for the promotion of international trade.

japanese ambassador to china heishiro ogawa was present.

the host and the guest had a cordial and friendly talk at the banquet proceeding in an amicable atmosphere.

present were chang hsiang-shan, vice-president of the china-japan friendship association, wang yao-ting, chairman of the china council for the promotion of international trade, and leading members of departments concerned lin li-yun, sun ping-hua, wang hsiao-yun and wu shu-tung.

aiichiro fujiyama arrived in peking at noon today for a friendly visit to china at the invitation of the china-japan friendship association.

Japanese Press Hails Great Victory of Anti-Right Deviationist Struggle

(NCNA-English Peking, May 27, 1976)

japanese newspapers and magazines in articles carried recently warmly acclaim china's great victory in the struggle to beat back the right deviationist wind to reverse correct verdicts of the great proletarian cultural revolution.

"tono senbo", organ of the workers' party of japan, in an editorial on may 1, says: "under the leadership of comrade mao tsetung, the chinese communist party, the proletariat and revolutionary people have repulsed the right deviationist wind to reverse correct verdicts stirred up by the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie with teng hsiao-ping as chief representative and their plot to restore capitalism, crushed the sabotage activities perpetrated by a handful of counter-revolutionary elements at tienanmen square. this fresh, great victory won by the chinese proletariat and revolutionary people has greatly encouraged the revolutionary people throughout the world. our party and all its members as well as the revolutionary proletariat and people of japan are heartily rejoiced over the great victory of china's dictatorship of the proletariat."

it notes: "our party and all its members firmly condemn teng hsiao-ping for his criminal acts to split the central committee of the chinese communist party, subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and to restore capitalism, firmly denounced the sabotage activities of the reactionary elements who engineered the counter-revolutionary political incident at tienanmen square."

the editorial points out, "the dictatorship of the proletariat is the soul of marxism. as lenin pointed out, only he is a marxist who extends the recognition of class struggle to the recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat. whoever pays lip service to marxism-leninism and class struggle but denies or abandons the principles of the dictatorship of the proletariat is doomed to slide down the road of revisionism and becomes an enemy of the proletariat; in a country where the working class has not yet won political power, the party would degenerate into a counter-revolutionary party dependent on bourgeois rule; and in a country, particularly a big one where the proletariat holds political power, the socialist state under the dictatorship of the proletariat would be reduced to a social-imperialist country under the dictatorship of the bureaucrat -- capitalist class and the political party of the proletariat to a reactionary fascist party.

the editorial says that by playing the sinister trick of eclecticism, teng hsiao-ping produced the

revisionist line of "taking the three directives as the key link" to distort and oppose the important directives put forward by comrade mao tsetung on the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat. like what liu shao-chi and lin piao did, teng hsiao-ping has done his utmost to advertise the theory of the dying of class struggle and the theory of productive forces. actually, by pursuing this revisionist program, he attempted to deny the dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie and realize the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and restore capitalism.

the editorial says, "guided by marxism-leninism-mao tsetung thought, the chinese people are united more closely around the party central committee headed by comrade mao tsetung to further strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat and carry on revolution and construction in a more vigorous way." the editorial says that the victory won by the chinese people has dealt a heavy blow at the reactionary forces the world over, especially soviet social-imperialism. this is a great victory for the international revolutionary forces over the reactionary forces in the world.

"jinmin no hoshi" (people's star), organ of the central committee of the japanese communist party (left), points out in a recent commentary: "under the leadership of comrade mao tsetung and the communist party of china, the chinese people once again sounded the clarion call of brilliant victory in the struggle of line concerning the future of china's socialist revolution and socialist construction and smashed the planned and organized scheme and provocative counter-revolutionary political incident unleashed by a handful of counter-revolutionaries."

the commentary says: "the imperialists and reactionaries in the world have pinned great hopes on the right deviationist activities to reverse correct verdicts carried out by capitalist-roader teng hsiao-ping who has been criticised but refused to repent. this stems from their essential fear of the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat and their wish for the conversion of socialist china into a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. however, as what happened in the past, their illusory hope has been completely dashed."

the commentary says: "the victorious advance of the line struggle and the strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat in china is a great encouragement to the revolutionary people in japan who rejoice over this and express warm welcome and resolute support to it."

the journal "japan-china exchange" published by the japan-china exchange council of japan carried in its may issue an article written by taro kamakura. the

article says that the struggle between the revolutionaries and capitalist-roaders now being waged in china will have immeasurable impact on the future of japan-china friendship. "what would happen in case the capitalist-roaders win a victory? the right deviationist wind to reverse correct verdicts will sweep over the educational, cultural, economic and foreign affairs fields. china will follow the steps of the soviet union after khrushchov took power. this means that china will become a capitalist state with a marxist-leninist signboard."

the article says: "as a genuine socialist state, the more china is strengthened, the more she develops and the redder her colour becomes, the more china will become a state which japan will get along with at ease without any worry about being a victim of aggression."

referring to soviet social-imperialism, the article says: "isn't the soviet union suppressing by armed force czechoslovakia and other east european countries? isn't the soviet union publicising the theory of 'socialist community' and 'limited sovereignty' which can be described as a soviet version of the 'east asia co-prosperity sphere'? isn't the soviet union seizing naval and air bases in various parts of the world? it has interfered in the liberation war in angola and established hegemony there, it has occupied japan's northern territories and refused to return them, it has intruded into the territorial sea and air space of japan to demonstrate its strength and shamelessly damaged japanese fishing nets, it has threatened the japanese government by warning against the conclusion of a japan-china peace and friendship treaty if the treaty opposes such hegemonism. hasn't it been doing so? once the nature of the former socialist state changed, it becomes such an imperialist power. in case the capitalist roaders in china win a victory and the leadership of the communist party of china is seized by the khrushchov and brezhnev type of persons, china will certainly become the same kind of state as the soviet union."

in conclusion, the article points out that the vigorous struggle against the right deviationist wind now being unfolded in china is a good thing. to understand the significance of the struggle is entirely necessary for japan-china friendship.

Chinese Vice Minister of Communications Meets Japanese Road Building Delegation

(NCNA-English Peking, May 28, 1976)

pan chi, vice-minister of communications, met the japanese road building delegation led by naouki ito here on may 26.

present were kao yuan, vice-president of the chinese society of civil engineering, and wang chan-yi, the society's permanent council member.

the delegation left here on may 26 for a visit to other parts of china before going home.

arriving in peking on may 20, the delegation was invited by the chinese society of civil engineering.

Liao Cheng-chih Meets Third Visiting Group of Kyuyukai from Japan

(NCNA-English Peking, May 28, 1976)

liao cheng-chih, president of the china-japan friendship association, met and had a cordial and friendly talk with the third visiting group of kyuyukai from japan led by tokinori ryu.

sun ping-hua, secretary-general of the china-japan friendship association, was present.

the visiting group will leave peking shortly to tour northeast china and shanghai before returning home.

Chinese Anti-Earthquake Technique Study Group
Leaves Peking for Japan

(NCNA-English Peking, May 28, 1976)

a chinese anti-earthquake technique study group with cheng chen-wen, vice-president of the architectural society of china, as leader and yeh yao-hsien, permanent council member and vice-chairman of the architecture structural committee of the society, as deputy leader, left here by air today for a friendly study tour of japan. the group is invited by the japan-china association on economy and trade, the japan-china architectural technique exchange association and the japan-china civil engineering technology exchange association.

the group was seen off at the airport by ho kuang-chien, acting president of the chinese architectural society.

CHINA AND KOREA

Chinese Table Tennis Delegation Returns Home

(NCNA-English Peking, May 27, 1976)

the chinese table tennis delegation including deputy leaders chang hsieh-lin and hu yu-tan, team leader kuan hui-kuang, all caoches and players returned here today after participating in the third asian table tennis championships and paying a friendly visit to korea.

they were greeted at the railway station by lu chin-tung, leader, sung chung, deputy leader, of the delegation who had come back earlier, and leading members of the departments concerned.

han chi hun, first secretary of the korean embassy in china, was also present.

when the chinese table tennis delegation left pyongyang yesterday, it was seen off at the railway station by kim duk jun, chairman of the organizing committee of the third asian table tennis championships, korean table tennis players and officials of the chinese embassy in korea.

CHINA AND PAKISTAN

Chairman Mao Tsetung Meets Prime Minister Bhutto and Other Distinguished Pakistan Guests

(NCNA-English Peking, May 27, 1976)

chairman mao tsetung this evening met with zulfikar ali bhutto, prime minister of the islamic republic of pakistan, begum nusrat bhutto and aziz ahmed, minister of state for defence and foreign affairs.

when prime minister bhutto and the other guests arrived at the meeting hall, chairman mao happily clasped their hands and extended warm welcome to the distinguished guests from the friendly neighbour, pakistan.

then, chairman mao had a cordial and friendly conversation with prime minister bhutto and mr. aziz ahmed.

chinese premier hua kuo-feng was present on the occasion.

Premier Hua Kuo-feng Continues Talks with Pakistan Prime Minister Bhutto

(NCNA-English Peking, May 27, 1976)

chinese premier hua kuo-feng continued talks here this afternoon with pakistan prime minister zulfikar ali bhutto.

Vice Chairman Yeh Chien-ying Meets Distinguished Pakistan Guests

(NCNA-English Peking, May 27, 1976)

yeh chien-ying, vice-chairman of the military commission of the central committee of the communist party of china, met and had a cordial and friendly conversation here this afternoon with general mohammad shariff, chairman of the joint chiefs of staff committee, and air chief marshal zulfiqar ali khan, chief of staff of the pakistan air force.

who are accompanying prime minister bhutto on his china visit.

present on the occasion were army attache brigadier iqbal m. shafi, air attache group captain mohammad ashraf chaudhry and naval attache captain mohammad akbar khan qureshi of the pakistan embassy here.

also present were deputy chief of general staff of the chinese people's liberation army chang tsai-chien, commander of the p.l.a. air force ma ning and leading members of departments concerned chu chuan-hsien, wang le-tien and yin tso-chen.

Pakistan Prime Minister and Begum Bhutto Visit
Tsinghua University

(NCNA-English Peking, May 27, 1976)

zulfikar ali bhutto, prime minister of the islamic republic of pakistan, begum bhutto and other distinguished pakistan guests visited tsinghua university here this morning and were accorded a warm welcome by the faculty members, students and workers.

chih chun, chairman of the university's revolutionary committee, gave the distinguished visitors an account of the revolution in education and the changes in the university brought about by the criticism of the unrepentant party capitalist-roader teng hsiao-ping and the struggle against the right deviationist attempt at reversing correct verdicts. the guests read big-character posters and visited a university-run factory.

when prime minister bhutto and begum bhutto arrived at the factory, they were welcomed with warm applause by the workers and worker-peasant-soldier students who were working there according to the "open-door" policy in education. prime minister bhutto warmly shook hands with the students working by the machine and inquired about their study and wish them new successes.

accompanying the distinguished pakistan guests on the visit were hsueh yu-shan, leading member of the ministry of education, hsieh ching-yi, vice-chairman of the revolutionary committee of tsinghua university, and lu wei-chao, chinese ambassador to pakistan.

this afternoon, begum bhutto visited the peking children's hospital, while members of the entourage inspected the peking iron and steel company.

Pakistan Prime Minister and Begum Bhutto Attend Peking Soiree

(NCNA-English Peking, May 27, 1976)

zulfikar ali bhutto, prime minister of the islamic republic of pakistan, begum bhutto and the other distinguished pakistan guests attended a soiree here today.

accompanying the distinguished pakistan guests at the soiree were vice-premier li hsien-nien and his wife lin chia-mei, minister of culture yu hui-yung, vice-foreign minister han nien-lung and vice-chairman of the peking municipal revolutionary committee ting kuo-yu.

the soiree proceeded in a warm atmosphere of solidarity and friendship between the peoples of china and pakistan. a programme of music and dances performed by the peking municipal song and dance troupe drew applause from the distinguished guests.

the soiree was sponsored by the peking municipal revolutionary committee.

Peking Press Circles Entertains Pakistan Journalists

(NCNA-English Peking, May 27, 1976)

peking press circles gave a reception here at noon today in honour of the pakistan journalists who are covering the visit to china of zulfikar ali bhutto, prime minister of the islamic republic of pakistan.

mohammed abul fazl, minister of the pakistan embassy here, was among the guests at the reception.

speaking at the reception which was alive with warm expressions of friendship, teng kang, director of the central broadcasting administration, and nasim ahmed, pakistan information secretary, toasted the continuous development of the friendship between the people of china and pakistan and the friendly relations and cooperation between the journalists of the two countries.

present were leading members of peking press organizations and the information department of the chinese foreign ministry, including hsieh li-fu, liu chih-ping, tung lin, yen hung-liang, shih hai-yun, hsu hsiao-ping, wang li-hsing and chiang mu-yueh.

Prime Minister Bhutto's China Trip Will
Further Pakistan-China Friendship, Notes
Pakistan Press

(NCNA-English Rawalpindi, May 27, 1976)

the pakistan press has warmly acclaimed prime minister bhutto's visit to china and is convinced that the friendship between pakistan and china will be further strengthened through his visit.

"morning news" said in an editorial yesterday: "the friendship between pakistan and china is founded on the lofty principles and is fed by a vast reservoir of mutual goodwill. as leaders of china and pakistan have stressed from time to time it is higher than the karakoram and deeper than the arabian sea." it went on to say that prime minister bhutto has been strengthening the goodwill that exists between the two countries through his periodic visit to peking and now he is arriving in peking with the goodwill and greetings from the people of pakistan for the people of china." we are sure that the visit will strengthen the bonds between the two countries and open new avenues of cooperation. a dynamic and everlasting friendship like this must express itself in a hundred ways and it is indeed heart-warming that leaders of the two countries are accomplishing that with a signal success."

"nawaiwaqt" stated in an editorial on the same day that prime minister bhutto's china visit beginning today will contribute to the further strengthening of the existing friendship that is based on principles.

"musawaat" stressed editorially: "the pakistan-china friendship has stood every test and no power on earth can harm it." "both are struggling against political hegemony and expansionism. their struggle will certainly be victorious because their stand is just. china has assured support to pakistan in safeguarding its freedom and territorial integrity which is an encouragement to the pakistan people."

Peking Newspaper Acclaim Pakistan
Achievements

(NCNA-English Peking, May 27, 1976)

the "people's daily" and "guangming daily" today praised pakistan's success in its efforts to defend national independence and develop national economy and national education, while lauding the friendship between china and pakistan.

the "people's daily" carried a feature story entitled "pakistan is marching forward on the road of independent development" by its correspondent in pakistan. it says: "for the past few years pakistan has made new achievements in the diplomatic field, and it has been playing an increasingly bigger role in the international affairs. unity and cooperation between pakistan and other third world countries have been steadily strengthened in the common struggle to safeguard independence and sovereignty and defend national economic interests, and they support each other in the struggle."

it adds: "for years, the soviet social imperialists have not stopped interference in and subversion against pakistan. they support a handful of splittists in pakistan in their disruptive activities, continue to threaten the country, and even scheme to dismember it again. pakistan has stood firm in face of such circumstances." as prime minister bhutto solemnly declared in a speech on march 6, the story notes, "we will never surrender our supreme national objectives, we will never compromise our supreme objectives." it states: "the strong determination and relentless struggle of the pakistan government and people against outside interference and for safeguarding state sovereignty have dealt telling blows to the soviet conspiratorial activities."

it concludes: "both china and pakistan belong to the third world. the two countries have forged a profound friendship in the protracted common struggle. public opinion in pakistan attaches great importance to the visit to china of prime minister bhutto. many pakistan friends have expressed their hopes for the further development of the friendship between the two peoples through the prime minister's visit."

"guangming daily" featured an article entitled "ever lasting friendship between the chinese and pakistan people" contributed by the chinese educational delegation which had visited pakistan not long ago. the article stressed the delegation's deep impression of the friendship between the two peoples during its stay in pakistan. the article said: "while in pakistan, we lived in an atmosphere of warmth and friendship, today we still remember many exciting events."

the article said: "since the promulgation of the new educational policy in 1972, pakistan has made gratifying achievements in developing national education. the nationalization of schools has been carried out throughout the country. positive measures have been taken to eradicate the influence of colonial education. mian mohammad ataullah, pakistan minister of state for education put it well, 'for an independent country, it must be independent not only politically and economically, but be assured of cultural and educational independence'."

Premier Hua Kuo-feng Continues Talks with Prime Minister Bhutto

(NCNA-English Peking, May 28, 1976)

hua kuo-feng, premier of the state council, continued talks here this afternoon with zulfikar ali bhutto, prime minister of the islamic republic of pakistan.

Begum Bhutto Meets Chinese Women Leaders

(NCNA-English Peking, May 28, 1976)

begum nusrat bhutto, wife of the pakistan prime minister bhutto, and chinese women leaders had a cordial meeting at the great hall of the people this afternoon.

present on the occasion were liu hsiang-ping, yang po-lan, fu yu-fang, chen mu-hua, lin chia-mei, wang chen and chang ying.

mrs. ali alvie, wife of the pakistan ambassador to china was present.

at the meeting, begum bhutto and other distinguished pakistan guests and chinese women leaders talked amicably about the friendship between the women of the two countries.

this morning, begum bhutto visited the peking children's palace. some members of prime minister bhutto's entourage visited to the shuangchiao people's commune on the outskirts of peking this afternoon.

China, Pakistan Badminton Teams Play Friendly Matches in Peking

(NCNA-English Peking, May 28, 1976)

the chinese and pakistan badminton teams had friendly matches at the capital indoor stadium here this evening and were warmly applauded by well over 10,000 spectators.

watching the matches were leading members of the state physical culture and sports commission, the chinese badminton association and other departments concerned lu chin-tung, chen yu-niang and wei ming, and syed khalid mahmood, leader of the pakistan badminton delegation, and farooq sheikh, leader of the pakistan badminton team.

the guest team is composed of 6 men players. the chinese and pakistan teams played five matches in men's singles and two in men's doubles in the evening.

the pakistan badminton delegation arrived in china on may 23 and visited tientsin where the pakistan players had friendly matches on may 24 and 25. it will soon leave here for southern china after touring the chinese capital.

CHINA AND SOVIET UNION

Jen-min Jih-pao Article: "Empire of Great-Russian Chauvinism"

(NCNA-English Peking, May 27, 1976)

the "people's daily" today carries a signed article entitled "an empire of great-russian chauvinism". excerpts from the article follow:

to push great-russian chauvinism and assimilate by force non-russian nationalities, the soviet revisionists, since brezhnev came to power, have propagated with a great fanfare the nonsense that the "national question" has been "solved completely and once and for all" in the soviet union where "the concepts of 'nationality' and 'tribe' are gradually yielding place to the concept of 'soviet people'." in a word, class antagonism has vanished, national oppression gone and the various nationalities been increasingly "integrated". this is sheer fraud and sophistry. in the soviet union today there still exists acute class antagonism and class struggle as well as national oppression. how

in these circumstances is it possible that conditions exist for the liquidation of national differences and for national integration excl. all brezhnev's counter-revolutionary practices on the national question in the past 11 years have been in the nature of forcible assimilation and "national integration" by the russian nation, a self-styled "superior nation", or in the nature of great russification.

brezhnev has inherited the counter-revolutionary enterprise of his predecessor, betrayed the national theory of marxism-leninism, negated the national position of non-russian nationalities in the country, pursued a policy of oppression, assimilated non-russian nationalities and incorporated them into the russian nation by force. as a result, the number of nationalities in the soviet union has dropped gradually. soviet official data reveal that the number of nationalities in the country dropped from 126 in 1959 to 119 in 1970. at the "25th congress" of the soviet revisionist party, only 60 nationalities were represented and all other nationalities were deprived of their rights. where can one find a trace of the "big family of unity" of "all nationalities"? the great teacher lenin pointed out that there should be "no privileges for any one nation, complete equality of nations and the unity, amalgamation of the workers of all nations" the policy of the soviet revisionist renegade clique towards the non-russian nationalities is out-and-out one of great-russian chauvinism.

to push great-russian chauvinism, the brezhnev renegade clique has sent tens of thousands of russian cadres and workers from the sparsely populated russian federative republic to non-russian republics and areas. at the same time, it has forced non-russians in the non-russian union republics and areas to emigrate under the pretext of "land reclamation" and "road-building", resulting in a relative drop of the share of the non-russian population. for example, the number of immigrants in the kazakh union republic reached 1,026,000 and that of emigrants 1,048,000 from 1968 to 1970. consequently, the share of the kazakh population -- the main body of the republic -- in the total population of the republic dropped to 32.6 per cent while the share of the russians rose to 42.4 per cent. the sinister motives of brezhnev and company are extremely obvious. the moscow revisionists attempt to reduce the formerly dominant nationalities in the non-russian union republics to a position of minority, eliminate the national characteristics of these republics and finally turn the soviet union into a single great-russified empire.

the soviet revisionists are steadily purging national cadres. "party congresses" held in various union republics this year disclosed that purges of national cadres in varying degrees have been carried out in 14 non-

russian union republics in the period between the previous and this year's congresses.

to step up the suppression of the resistance put up by non-russian people, the soviet revisionist ruling clique has repeatedly changed the leading officials in organs of the dictatorship and in departments in charge of ideological control in the union republics. brezhnev and company bluntly gave the signal at the "25th congress" that "ideological-political work will be further strengthened" and those who want "to maintain on some pretext or other their own 'unique nature' and national characteristics" will not be tolerated. this presages more ruthless suppression of the non-russian nationalities.

to plunder and exploit non-russian nationalities economically is an important means of the soviet revisionists in practising great-russian chauvinism. to facilitate their exploitation and plunder, they restrict the economic development of various non-russian union republics under the pretext of "economic specialization" and "regional division of labour." for example, cotton output in uzbekstan accounts for 67.4 per cent of the total output of the country, but its cotton fabrics output only accounts for 3 per cent of the country because its cotton-processing industry remains underdeveloped. but the cotton fabrics output of the russian federative republic which does not produce cotton but monopolize the processing industries amounts to 83.5 per cent of the country's total output. in this way they reduce various non-russian union republics to economic appendages and suppliers of raw materials, farm and side-occupation products to the russian federative republic's. such "economic specialization" and "regional division of labour" have led to the loss of independence and lopsided economic development of the non-russian union republics. moldavia which was a vineyard and a vegetable and tobacco plantation under the rule of the old tsars is still the most backward union republic in industrial development.

to achieve great russification, the brezhnev clique has done its utmost to discriminate and discredit the culture and languages of non-russian nationalities. the soviet revisionists tamper with history at will and overemphasize the historical role of the russian nation. the history of the russian empire is taught in schools as the history of the people of various soviet nationalities. as a result, the younger generations of non-russian nationalities are ignorant of their own national history and tradition. furthermore, the moscow revisionists regard the culture of non-russian nationalities as backward and "secondary" stuff and the russian culture as the "light of the magnificent culture".

they start their compulsory popularization of the russian language in educational departments. in many areas inhabited by non-russian nationalities, children in kindergartens are taught to speak the russian language. in addition, brezhnev and company make it a rule that beginning with primary schools, all lessons are given in the russian language in the schools for nationalities in many areas inhabited by non-russian nationalities, and entrance examination papers and graduation theses in universities must be written in russian. these reactionary measures have made many non-russian youth lose the ability to use their own national languages. the unbridled "forcible popularization of the russian language" by brezhnev and company constitutes an important aspect of their great-russian chauvinist policy of forced assimilation. this practice and the so-called "compulsory national language system" pursued by the old tsars are tweedledum and tweedledee.

brezhnev and company's great-russian chauvinism has brought untold calamities to the people of various nationalities (the russian nationality included) in the soviet union. our great leader chairman mao points out: "in the final analysis, national struggle is a matter of class struggle." the intensified national contradictions in the soviet union are a reflection of the unprecedentedly fierce class struggle and an inevitable outcome of the all-round restoration of capitalism by the soviet revisionists. brezhnev will never succeed in his scheme to cover up class contradictions and national contradictions.

Commentary by Hsinhua Correspondent: Why Is Soviet Union So Eager to Peddle "Long-Term Trade Agreements"?

(NCNA-English Nairobi, May 26, 1976)

the soviet social-imperialists have in succession dished up a "position paper" and a "draft resolution" on the "signing of bilateral medium- and long-term trade agreements" at the fourth session of the u.n. conference on trade and development in opposition to the integrated programme for commodities proposed by the third world countries. the soviet delegates also repeatedly asserted that "signing of medium- and long-term trade agreements" between the developing countries and the soviet union constitutes the "principal element" in solving the problems of commodities.

aware of the third world countries' growing support for the integrated programme for commodities,

the soviet union has escalated its sabotage at the conference and its sinister activities have become increasingly undisguised.

why did the soviet union time and again try in every way to prevent the conference from centring on the discussion of the integrated commodity programme and desperately peddle its "long-term trade agreements"? anyone with a discerning eye will see that there is a great deal of finesse in doing so. a look at the soviet union's trade with the developing countries will show that all the ten commodities included in the integrated commodity programme to be dealt with at the first stage are needed by the soviet union as imports. they are none other than the cheap raw materials it has long been plundering, materials which have brought huge profits to it through "long-term trade agreements".

according to the soviet union's own announcement, at present, the raw materials it imports from the developing countries make up more than 73 per cent of its total raw material imports. among them, the total imports of cotton, jute, cocoa and coffee among the ten commodities from the developing countries account for over 90 per cent of the imports of the same commodities.

in its trade with the third world countries, the soviet union purchases raw materials at prices 10 to 15 per cent lower than those at the international market and sells its industrial goods 15 to 25 per cent higher than the international market prices.

take 1974 as an example. the soviet union took advantage of the soaring prices of industrial goods and declining prices of raw materials to reap a trade surplus of over 1,000 million rubles through the exchange of unequal values. it is estimated that during the ten years ending 1974, moscow made a fabulous profit of 10,000 million dollars through the same means. moreover, this did not include the profits it had reaped by reselling to western europe the cheap raw materials it had plundered from the developing countries. in so doing, moscow made the already declining prices of raw materials plummet further.

in short, one can know very well from the figures mentioned above why the soviet union has gone all out to oppose the integrated commodity programme and cling to long-term bilateral trade agreements. it is designed to impose the unequal trade relations through these long-term agreements on to the third world countries.

but as major raw materials exporters, the developing countries have suffered long enough from exploitation and plunder by imperialism. they are now awakening and

resolved to break the shackles of the old international economic order and set up a new order. they resolutely stand for a comprehensive approach to commodities on the basis of the integrated commodity programme, so as to rapidly improve their extremely unfavourale position in international trade, stabilize and raise the purchasing power of their income from exports in real value, offset the losses from sharp fluctuations of prices and create favourable conditions for increasing exports of their primary and processed products and promoting diversification of production and industrialization in the future.

during the conference, the developing countries spoke with one voice in adhering to the reasonable propositions of the integrated programme for commodities and opposing any proposals or "position paper" contrary to it. the romanian delegate noted in his speech, "a comprehensive integrated programme represents a scheme realisable from the technical point of view, acceptable from the political point of view, and efficient from the economic point of view".
the indonesian delegate said that indonesia opposes any proposals attempted to "disintegrate" "the various components of the integrated commodity programme", because they can in no way answer the crux of the problems as posed by the developing countries. "it is of crucial importance that such proposals should not divert the attention of the conference," he stressed. in his speech, head of the chinese delegation chou hua-min pointed out that superpower -- the soviet union -- vilified the integrated programme for commodities and advocated the signing of medium and long-term trade agreements with it with the aim of making the developing countries fall into its trade trap and system of exploitation.

today more and more people have seen through and repudiated the soviet fraud of "long-term trade agreements". the first negotiating group persisted in taking the components of the manila documents concerned as the basis of the negotiation and paid no attention to the so-called "position paper" engineered by the soviet union.

indications show, however, that the soviet union has not given up its ambitions and still engages in saootage activities in the a dark corner. the vast developing countries of the third world are continuing to maintain high vigilance and carry on the struggle.

Jen-min Jih-pao Article: Why Soviet Revisionists Change Their Tunes?

(NCNA-English Peking, May 28, 1976)

the "people's daily" today carries a signed article denouncing the soviet revisionists for changing their tunes. excerpts from the article follow:

messrs. soviet revisionist who always styled themselves as "standard-bearers of peace" and "peace angels" have now turned to the theme of war. they claim that they "have never been pacifists" and "have never opposed all wars", etc.

that the soviet revisionists prate about war may well be a piece of news. it is news in that they no longer harp on lasting peace but say there will be wars; and in that they no longer trumpet the irreversibility of detente but touch on the inevitability of war. in a word, they seem to have "revised" the arguments of their predecessors on the question of war.

but have they "never opposed all wars"?

"we do not want war" is a slogan for which khrushchov worked all his life. he explained that "war is a titanic disaster" and that "only madmen want wars". he and his ilk even shouted at the top of their voices: "down with arms excl. long live peace." they dreamed of an unsubstantial jewelled palace in elfland's hills -- "a world without weapons, without armed forces and without wars." the whole series of khrushchovite fallacies on war represent a complete betrayal of the marxist-leninist teaching that a class analysis is required on this question. just as lenin pointed out, "the class character of war -- that is the fundamental question."

if he does not have a poor memory, brezhnev should remember that he is the very man who followed khrushchov closely and parroted his revilings against all wars, alleging that it is now "possible to realize" "complete exclusion of wars from social life".

why an about turn now in brezhnev's approach to the war theme?

actually, it is not at all surprising. khrushchov and company in their times opposed all wars, be they just or otherwise, because the raging flames of people's surging revolutionary wars had scared them out of their wits. our great leader chairman mao points out in one of his poems:

"gunfire licks the heavens,
shells pit the earth.
a sparrow in his bush is scared stiff.
'this is one hell of a mess excl.
o i want to flit and fly away.'"

falling on their knees before the imperialists, khrushchov and his like desperately opposed just wars -- wars of national liberation and revolutionary civil wars -- and became shameless renegades.

since he came to power, brezhnev -- khrushchov the second -- has been working to complete the process of evolution from capitalist restoration to social-imperialism, a process which began under the rule of khrushchov. this evolution finds expression in the question of war, on which the soviet revisionists have had to change their tunes accordingly. to push social-imperialism, social-fascism and social-militarism, brezhnev and company find it necessary to prepare counter-revolutionary public opinion for aggression and expansion abroad. this is the background of the new argument that they have "never opposed all wars".

what do they mean by loudly trumpeting the new argument? they want to impress people with their position of approving and supporting one kind of war and opposing and sabotaging another. but what is their criterion for distinguishing between the two kinds of war?

the soviet revisionist renegade clique has given the best answer to what it has done.

dispatching massive troops and springing a surprise attack, it invaded and occupied czechoslovakia overnight by means of war in 1968. is this aggressive war against a member state of the "socialist community" a unique case which will never happen again? no excl. messrs. soviet revisionists have asserted decisively that "they will do so in future" to "defend the community's integrity". because of this they flaunt the flag of "we don't oppose all kinds of wars" in an attempt to cover up their past acts of aggression and prepare the ground for future aggressive acts.

the soviet revisionists imposed a war on the people of angola last year by providing money, guns and manpower. they sent a large quantity of lethal weapons and more than ten thousand mercenaries who committed all kinds of atrocities there. they euphemistically describe their expansionist action as "support for the just war against imperialist forces". for this sake they certainly cannot hoist the flag of "opposition to all wars", but need a new tune.

these are the two wars waged and directed by the soviet revisionists, defended and supported by them by

all means in defiance of the opposition of all the people of the world, including the soviet people, and which they have to launch even at the risk of being called war-maniacs once cursed by khrushchov.

wars of what nature do the soviet revisionists oppose and sabotage? here are the facts:

in 1970, the cambodian people launched a just war of national salvation against the lon nol traitorous clique. the soviet revisionists put their stake on the handful of lon nol traitors and gave them every kind of aid. they vehemently cursed and openly opposed the arduous war waged by the cambodian people and patriotic armed forces in an attempt to throttle the cambodian people's just war.

the egyptian people launched a just war against israeli zionist aggression in october 1973. the war won the support and help of the arab countries and all justice-upholding countries and people the world over. but prior to the outbreak of the war, the soviet revisionists harbouring ulterior motives delayed time and again the arms supply they had promised to give to egypt. in the war, the soviet revisionists repeatedly rejected the egyptian demand for replenishment of arms and equipment in a vain attempt to reduce the arms in the hands of the egyptian people into a heap of scrap iron.

the soviet revisionists' attitude toward the two kinds of war is absolutely different, showing a sharp contrast. it turned out that by declaring they "are not opposed to all wars" the soviet revisionists approve and carry out predatory imperialist war and sabotage and oppose the just wars supported by all the people the world over. that is the simple truth exct.

to contend for world hegemony, the soviet revisionists are engaged in frantic arms expansion and war preparations and stretching their hands everywhere, perpetrating aggression and expansion rabidly. the change of tune on the war issue is made only to serve the social-imperialist policy of aggression and expansion.

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MASS LITERATURE AND ART

Criticize Teng Hsiao-p'ing for His Sinister Design in Strangling Mass Literature and Art

by

Chiang T'ien (江 天)

(Peking Jen-min Jih-pao, May 21, 1976)

"Red, orange, yellow, green, blue, indigo, violet---
Who is dancing, waving this colored ribbon against the sky?"

Who are the creators of brilliant and varietgated revolutionary literature and art? Who are the masters of socialist literature and art? They are the workers, peasants and soldiers! The brilliant victory of the great proletarian cultural revolution has ushered in a wonderful springtime on the literary and art front, where "orioles sing, swallows dart" and "new scenes have replaced the old." High in spirits, the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers have stepped into the socialist literary arena, thus breaking the age-old monopoly of literature and art by the landlord and bourgeois classes. This has brought to literary and art creation a flourishing scene and the brand-new situation marked by the vigorous development of the revolutionary mass movement for literature and art.

With the workers, peasants and soldiers directly controlling the weapon of literature and art and mounting the stage of socialist literature and art, the bourgeoisie inside and outside the Party looks upon them as flood and wild beasts, and was panic-stricken. In "Certain Problems Concerning the Acceleration of Industrial Development" concocted under his sponsorship, the arch unrepentant capitalist-roader Teng Hsiao-p'ing called for the "complete abolition" of all literary and art propaganda teams in factories and mines in the name of "reorganizing enterprise management." Under the designation of "reorganizing agriculture," he negated the "ten new

things" of Hsiaoch'inchuang in a vain attempt to "wipe out" the mass literature and art of the workers, peasants and soldiers by means of trumped-up charges. This is another of Teng Hsiao-p'ing's crimes in vigorously whipping up the Right-deviation wind to reverse verdicts in the literary and art field for the purpose of subverting the dictatorship of the proletariat and restoring capitalism.

Teng Hsiao-p'ing vilified the model revolutionary theatrical works as "the blossoming of a single flower." At the same time, he also was extremely hostile toward revolutionary mass literature and art which blossomed luxuriantly all over the motherland. Lifting the axe, he chopped them away in a big way in an endeavor to have them "wiped out." This fully shows that he wants to completely negate the revolution in literature and art with model revolutionary plays as the hallmark, oppose the blossoming of a hundred flowers in socialist literature and art and reverse verdicts for the revisionist line in literature and art.

The mass literature and art of the workers, peasants and soldiers, which have developed vigorously since the great proletarian cultural revolution, are socialist new things with a striking class character and the features of the times. Analyzing and summing up these salient features can help us clearly see Teng Hsiao-p'ing's reactionary aim in wanting to do away with mass literature and art.

Today's mass literature and art have developed by working against the revisionist line in literature and art of the 17 years before the great cultural revolution. The domination of the literary world by the landlord and bourgeois classes has been broken, and the workers, peasants and soldiers have become true masters of literature and art. This is one striking feature.

Under the domination of the revisionist line in literature and art, the bourgeoisie within the Party also flaunted the banner of "fostering amateur writers" for the sake of putting up a front to cover up their true colors in opposing mass literature and art of the workers, peasants and soldiers. Therefore, what they meant by "fostering" was in fact to drag the worker-peasant-soldier writers into "Petersburg" and poison them with bourgeois literary and art concepts and ideas of fame and gains in order to turn these writers from spokesmen of the workers, peasants and soldiers into bourgeois servants. Many spare-time worker-peasant-soldier writers and performances were strangled by them. The ringleaders of the black line in literature and art thus used both persuasion and force and also their two hands to "kill by flattery and clubbing" all new forces emerging from among the workers, peasants and soldiers, so as to safeguard this hereditary domain of the landlord and bourgeois classes.

The prairie fire cannot destroy everything, and when the spring breeze blows, life will start again. The great struggle of the great cultural revolution finally brought down the domination of the 17 year-long revisionist black line of great complexity in literature and art. The backbone force of the revolution in literature and art grew to maturity through tempering in the course of struggle, and a huge contingent of spare-time worker-peasant-soldier writers and artists constantly grew and

progressed. Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in literature and art and spurred by the model revolutionary theatrical works, they occupied and transformed the literary world and became its true masters.

In Hsiyang, the contingent of worker-peasant-soldier backbone writers and artists has grown to 24,000 strong, with as many as 100,000 people taking part in literary and art activities of all kinds. In Hsiaoch'inchuang, a "village of tenant farmers" with no culture before liberation, over 2,000 poems have been written in a little more than one year. In Yangch'uan, which provides socialist construction with industrial grain, the contingent of over 250 backbone miner-artists has in recent years painted more than 10,000 pictures.

Hu county, the "home of paintings," created more than 40,000 artistic works of all kinds in 1973 alone. In the 1974 National Art Exhibition, 50 percent of the exhibits were works by spare-time worker-peasant-soldier artists, thus adding splendor to the socialist gallery. In the capital Peking, over 9,000 spare-time literary and art propaganda teams composed and staged not less than 100,000 performances in the past four years, and in each year over 10,000 repertoires were selected to take part in the gala activities for the "May Day" and National Day celebrations.

Among the new works published in Peking Literature and Art, 90 percent are works by worker-peasant-soldier spare-time writers. The number of literary works by spare-time writers published by the Peking People's Press in the past four years has far exceeded the total number of amateur works by the masses published in more than ten years before the great cultural revolution.

Take a look at the whole country: Mass literature and art have been developing on a massive scale. Various artistic forms are rivaling for gorgeousness, like a hundred blooming flowers. Spare-time literary and art propaganda teams of all kinds are scattered everywhere. What a grand and inspiring scene this is! Such an excellent situation with the workers, peasants and soldiers directly controlling literature and art, and such a scene of the prosperous development of socialist mass literature and art, is not only without precedent but also unthinkable in the past.

The workers, peasants and soldiers have occupied the cultural battlefront and wiped out the domination of the landlord and bourgeois classes in the literary world. How couldn't Teng Hsiao-p'ing, as the general representative of the bourgeoisie inside and outside the Party, help from feeling bitter and deliberately wanting to strike a vicious blow so as to get rid of them!

Today's mass literature and art are the fruits of our working against the feudal, capitalist and revisionist literature and art advocated by Teng Hsiao-p'ing. They follow the example of model revolutionary theatrical works and the orientation of serving the workers, peasants and soldiers. The raising of standards is based on popularization, while popularization is guided by the raising of standards. Socialist literature and art are

used to occupy the ideological and cultural positions in the cities and the countryside. This is another striking feature of mass literature and art.

Before the great cultural revolution, the claws of the revisionist black line in literature and art were also extended directly into the spare-time cultural positions of factories and mines and in the countryside. They struck down revolutionary literature and art created for and made use by the workers, peasants and soldiers, and arbitrarily imposed the feudal, capitalist and revisionist trash upon the masses. Can we deny that trask like "Liang Shan-po and Chu Ying-tai" and Two Hundred Famous Foreign Songs once spread unchecked in mass literary and art activities? Had Teng Hsiao-p'ing ever called for "abolition" at that time? No. He even vigorously promoted them and held them in high esteem. It can be seen from this that Teng Hsiao-p'ing did not call for the abolition of mass literature and art in general, and what he wanted to abolish was only socialist mass literature and art.

After the great proletarian cultural revolution, the vigorous development of the spare-time literary and art activities of the workers, peasants and soldiers was inseparable from the deepgoing opularization of model revolutionary theatrical works. Thousands upon thousands of the people in factories, rural villages, company units and schools and on other fronts learned to sing model revolutionary theatrical works. Singing operas about heroes and learning from their deeds, they used the proletarian ideology to occupy the cultural positions in the cities and the countryside. At the same time, they seriously studied the experience gained in creating model revolutionary theatrical works and extensively carried out spare-time mass activities in creating literary and art works. Thus, they played an extremely important role in the fierce struggle to contend with the bourgeoisie for ideological and cultural positions.

Taking Hsiaoch'inchuang for example, before the great cultural revolution, evil books and plays and scandals stories ran rampant in this brigade. For a time, the evil influence of capitalism rose, and the collective economy was seriously undermined. After the great cultural revolution, the brigade Party branch vigorously grasped class struggle in the ideological sphere, and set up the poor and lower-middle peasants' own literary and art propaganda teams. They studied and popularized model revolutionary theatrical works, composed and performed their own literary and art repertoires, launched activities in writing poems and songs, seized back the rural cultural battlefield and strengthened the exercise of all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie in all spheres of the superstructure. How could Teng Hsiao-p'ing not feel desperate and low-spirited and be enraged about this? He viciously attacked this saying, "What's so good about Hsiaoch'inchuang?" He completely negated the "ten new things" of Hsiaoch'inchuang and caused a gust of Right-deviation "typhoon" of the 12th grade for reversal of verdicts to blow in the direction of Hsiaoch'inchuang.

Teng Hsiao-p'ing's hostility toward the mass literary and art activities in Hsiaoch'inchuang reminds us of Tu Wen-chieh and Ch'ien Chi-jen in the film Ch'un Miao. The moment they saw the barefoot doctors picked up the needle to serve the poor and lower-middle peasants, they sensed that "this

territory under us would be taken away by others." Therefore they adopted all means to forbid T'ien Ch'un-miao from taking up the needle and carrying the medical kit, thus depriving her of the right to make prescriptions, and indiscriminately chopping away all health rooms set up by the poor and lower-middle peasants themselves.

Teng Hsiao-p'ing, the chieftain of the bourgeois "home-going contingent," likewise sensed that the literary and art propaganda teams which were active in factories, mines and rural villages had taken away the territory under the bourgeoisie. Therefore, he would not be happy until they were eliminated. His endeavor to "indiscriminately abolish" all literary and art teams was precisely a concentrated expression of the restorationist desire of the bourgeoisie inside and outside the Party to seize back the literary and art battlefront.

However, the direct control of the weapon of literature and art by the workers, peasants and soldiers is not only a historical necessity but also something actually in existence already which nobody is able to write off. The poor and lower-middle peasants of Hsiaoch'inchuang stood firm on the socialist literary and art battlefront without yielding an inch of ground. Filled with militant excitement, they sang: "The lights shine more brightly when winds sweep the evening school, and the red flag looks much redder when battered by rain. Flowers of the ten new things constantly blossom, and look particularly lovely in the wind when in full bloom."

In the country as a whole, Hsiaoch'inchuang is not the sole typical example. The broad masses of worker-peasant-soldier spare-time writers learn from the model revolutionary theatrical works, emulate the revolutionary spirit of struggle as displayed by the heroes in these plays, use their toiling hands to create socialist material wealth as well as socialist spiritual wealth, pick up the pen or brush to paint pictures and write poems, novels, essays and plays, and plunge into the actual class struggle with the weapon of literature and art. The worker-militiamen of the capital, after smashing the counter-revolutionary political incident stirred up by the handful of class enemies at T'ienanmen Square, have put out in good time large numbers of revolutionary works of literature and art and used revolutionary public opinion to smash the counter-revolutionary public opinion. This vivid fact more fully reveals the great might of this revolutionary new thing--the direct control of literature and art by the workers, peasants and soldiers. This is something that can never be knocked down by any bourgeois club or axe.

Today's mass literature and art have healthily developed in the struggle against the strengthening and extension of bourgeois rights by the capitalist-roaders. They are a powerful weapon for criticizing the concept of bourgeois rights. This is the third striking feature.

With the scent of lubricating oil and the smell of mud about them, the workers, peasants and soldiers have entered the literary world. They still participate in labor and have the masses at heart. They always take deep root in the soil of the three great revolutionary movements, and warmly eulogize the proletarian heroes. Consciously restricting bourgeois rights, they trample underfoot the idea that "when one has something novel, he can make a

living anywhere," and the principle of "famous writers, famous directors and famous actors" and the policy of "high salaries, high payments and high bonuses," thus blocking the sinister road of using literature and art as the ladder to become "spiritual aristocrats." Adhering to the part-time principle just like the "iron girls" of the Tachai literary and art propaganda team, they are backbone elements in literary and art activities as well as path-breakers in grasping revolution and promoting production. This has laid bare the fact that Teng Hsiao-p'ing's vilification of the literary and art propaganda teams as "detached from production" is nothing but a pretext for abolishing socialist mass literature and art in his call for all-round "rectification."

Facts are more convincing than eloquent theories: As a result of extensively launching literary and art activities on a mass scale, Hsiaoch'in-chuang has given great impetus to the mass movement for learning from Tachai in agriculture. The per-mow grain yield surpassed the "Yangtze River" level in 1974 and the 1,000-catty mark in 1975. Indeed, "poems have hastened the sturdy growth of rice seedlings and the development of production by leaps and bounds." The Yangch'üan Coal Mine is an outstanding model for mass spare-time literary and art activities as well as an advanced unit which has overfulfilled the quotas set in the state production plans for seven years running. Like they said: Our achievements are scored by the workers under the guidance of the Party's basic line by taking class struggle as the key link. Spare-time artistic creation by the workers has also played an inspiring role. Abundant vivid facts have shown that mass literature and art have not hindered production but have inspired the revolutionary fervor of the workers, peasants and soldiers on the forefront of the three great revolutionary movements to serve proletarian politics and give impetus to production.

In attempting to abolish all literary and art propaganda teams, Teng Hsiao-p'ing has no other purpose in mind than to peddle the theory of the "dying out of class struggle" and the theory of productive forces and to prevent the worker-peasant masses from participating in struggle-criticism-transformation in the realm of the superstructure. He vainly attempts to turn them into "leaders" or tools for production, so as to enable feudal, capitalist and revisionist literature and art to stage a comeback, sabotage the revolution, disrupt production and undermine the economic base of socialism. However, the flowers of socialist mass literature and art are in full bloom in the sun, and Teng Hsiao-p'ing's conspiracy can only be a fond dream.

As Engels pointed out: "What is good to some people is bound to be bad to others. Any new liberation for a given class is bound to constitute new oppression for another class." ("The Origin of Family, Private Ownership and State," Collected Works of Marx and Engels, Vol. XXI, p. 201) The workers, peasants and soldiers, who are regarded by the bourgeois lords as "uneducated people" and "rustics," have striden vigorously into the literary world, thus thoroughly changing the balance of class forces in the domain of literature and art. Socialist mass literature and art, considered a thorn in their side, have occupied literary and art positions in the cities and the countryside and exercised dictatorship over the bourgeoisie. To the bourgeois "home-going contingent," which attempts to dominate once again the literary world, this is of course a "bad thing" that cannot be tolerated.

Therefore, Teng Hsiao-p'ing hurriedly came forward to launch a punitive campaign in an attempt to abolish all literary and art propaganda teams of the masses. What he wants to abolish is not only the literary and art propaganda teams but also the flowers of socialist literature and art, the standing of workers, peasants and soldiers as the true masters in the domain of literature and art field as well as the all-round dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie. In a word, he wants to negate the great achievements of the great proletarian cultural revolution. This is a sharp struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between occupation and counter-occupation and between restoration and counter-restoration on the ideological and cultural front.

We must earnestly study the series of important instructions issued by Chairman Mao in the great proletarian cultural revolution and the struggle to beat back the Right-deviation wind to reverse verdicts. We must firmly keep to the general orientation of the struggle, penetratingly criticize Teng Hsiao-p'ing and repulse the Right-deviation wind to reverse verdicts so that the flowers of socialist mass literature and art will blossom in greater splendor.

Lenin pointed out long ago: "Art belongs to the people. It must have its deepest foundation at the lower strata of the working masses..... It must arouse the artists among the masses and enable them to develop themselves." (Lenin on Literature and Art, Vol. II, p. 912) The hopes for the uninterrupted and thriving development of proletarian literature and art lie in socialist mass literature and art, which are young shoots of communist literature and art with a great future. Let us make ever greater efforts to bring out resplendent flowers of socialist mass literature and art!

* * *

CLASS STRUGGLE

Adhere to the Method of Class Analysis and Keep to the General Orientation of the Revolutionary Struggle

- Some understanding acquired from the study of Analysis of the Classes in Chinese Society

by

Kao Hung-wen (高洪文) of a certain PLA unit

(Peking Kuang-ming Jih-pao March 29, 1976)

The 50th anniversary of the publication of Analysis of the Classes in Chinese Society by great leader Chairman Mao falls in March this year. This is a brilliant document applying the Marxist-Leninist theory of class struggle in analyzing the various classes in society and in formulating the correct line for the Party. Today, studying it over again is of extremely great actual significance to us in striking back at the Right-deviation wind to reverse verdicts and in criticizing the revisionist line concocted by the unrepentant capitalist roader within the Party to negate taking class struggle as the key link.

The method of class analysis is the method of applying the concept of classes and class struggle in observing and analyzing problems. It is the sharpest ideological weapon for the proletariat in carrying out revolutionary struggles. It is a fundamental method of using Marxism to observe and analyze society. In class society, despite the complicated historical conditions, the variable social events and the diverse speeches and opinions, all social phenomena, whether in the economic, political or ideological spheres, actually are direct or indirect reflections of the class interests of various classes. Because of this, so long as we grasp the method of class analysis, we shall also be grasping the "guiding dues" pointed out to us by Marxism. We shall then be able to see and understand things clearly under any complex condition, and grasp the correct orientation.

The method of class analysis is the basis on which the line, and general and specific policies of the Party are formulated. In 1926, the Chinese revolution was already on an upsurge. Who were our enemies and who were our friends? If this question of the prime importance for the revolution could not be solved, there would be no way to lead the Chinese revolution, much less to win victory in the revolution. Chairman Mao pointed out, "To insure that we will definitely achieve success in our revolution and will not lead the masses astray, we must pay attention to uniting with our real friends in order to attack our real enemies. To distinguish real friends from real enemies, we must make a general analysis of the economic status of the various classes in Chinese society and of their respective attitudes toward the revolution."

However, there were in the Party at that time two erroneous tendencies toward the question of revolutionary leadership. Right-opportunism represented

by Ch'en Tu-hsiu refused to believe that the proletariat could lead the revolution nor that the peasants could take part in the revolution, and it wanted to hand over revolutionary leadership to the bourgeoisie without putting up a fight. Although the Left opportunism represented by Chang Kuo-t'ao verbally acknowledged that the revolution had to be led by the proletariat, it repudiated the role played by the peasantry in the revolution, so the proletariat was in an extremely isolated and helpless position.

Applying the Marxist method of class analysis and based on the economic status at that time of the various classes in Chinese society, the great leader Chairman Mao analyzed in detail the attitudes of the various classes toward the revolution. He pointed out: "Our enemies are all those in league with imperialism--the warlords, the bureaucrats, the comprador class, the big landlord class and the reactionary section of the intelligentsia attached to them. The leading force in our revolution is the industrial proletariat. Our closest friends are the entire semi-proletriat and petty bourgeoisie. As for the vacillating middle bourgeoisie, their right-wing may become our enemy and their left-wing may become our friend--but we must be constantly on our guard and not let them create confusion within our ranks." This made a fundamental distinction between real enemies and friends, solved the question of who should lead the revolution and whom we should rely on, criticized "Left" and Right opportunism within the Party and pointed out the correct orientation for the Chinese revolution.

In the intervening decades, the Chinese revolution led by Chairman Mao were able at every critical juncture of the revolution--from the First Revolutionary Civil War to the Second Revolutionary Civil War and to the War Against Japanese Aggression and the Liberation War--to adhere constantly to the method of class analysis, so that our Party was able to "unite with our real friends in order to attack our real enemies" and to lead the Chinese revolution to overcome difficulties and score one victory after another.

At the second plenum of the 7th CCP Central Committee held on the eve of the nationwide victory won in China's New Democratic Revolution, Chairman Mao again applied the method of class analysis in making a profound analysis of the various classes and strata in Chinese society. He clearly and correctly pointed out that after the proletariat won nationwide victory, the Chinese revolution would enter a new historical period of socialist revolution and the principal contradiction at home would be "the contradiction between the working class and the bourgeoisie." Chairman Mao profoundly analyzed the content and form of the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and the complexity and protractedness of this kind of struggle. In this analysis, Chairman Mao pointed out clearly that the object and tasks of the socialist revolution were the basic starting point for formulating the Party's line and policies during the period of the socialism.

Thirteen years later, Chairman Mao again brought up the question of class struggle. Proceeding from the special characteristics of classes, class contradictions and class struggle in the socialist society, he formulated the basic line for our Party throughout the historical period of socialism. Regarding this Marxist-Leninist line, Chairman Mao emphatically pointed out: "From now on we must remind ourselves of this every year, every month and every day, so that we may have a more sober understanding of this question."

The theory of class struggle in the period of socialism advanced by Chairman is a sharp weapon for us in analyzing various phenomena appearing in socialist society. The basic line of taking class struggle as the key link formulated by Chairman Mao for our Party is our life blood.

However, for more than twenty years in the past, some people within the Party constantly leaped forth to oppose using the concept of classes and class struggle to observe and analyze the changes in class relations in the period of socialism, to oppose taking class struggle as the key link and to oppose using the socialist revolution to settle the past political movements characterized by this basic contradiction between the working class and the bourgeoisie. Chieftains of the revisionist line such as Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao went all out to advocate "the theory of the dying out of class struggle," "the theory of productive forces" and other fallacies. Their aim was to change the Party's basic line and negate taking class struggle as the key link.

Last year, the unrepentant capitalist-roaders within the Party who whipped up the Right-deviation wind to reverse verdicts cast forth "taking the three directives as the key link." He cried: "How can we talk about class struggle every day?" He openly aired an opposing view to Chairman Mao, and likewise wanted to change the Party's basic line and negate taking class struggle as the key link. Their object was to direct the orientation of advance of China's socialist revolution and restore capitalism.

How should we approach these phenomena which keep recurring in society? So long as we adhere to the method of class analysis, we shall be able to see the essence through the phenomenon and understand that these phenomena are a reflection of classes and class struggle that still exist in the historical period of socialism.

The great leader Chairman Mao recently pointed out, "With the socialist revolution they themselves come under fire. At the time of the cooperative transformation of agriculture there were people in the Party who opposed it, and when it comes to criticizing the bourgeois rights, they resent it. You are making the socialist revolution, and yet don't know where the bourgeoisie is. It is right in the Communist Party--those in power taking the capitalist road. The capitalist-roaders are still on the capitalist road."

This important instruction given by Chairman Mao has once again set a brilliant example for us in applying the method of class analysis in analyzing the changes in class relations in Chinese society. This extremely profound analysis of Chairman Mao has summed up the historical experience of the socialist revolution in China and defended and developed Marxism-Leninism. It is a powerful ideological weapon for us in combating and guarding against revisionism and in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Chairman Mao clearly points out here that the capitalist-roaders are the bourgeoisie within the Party in the period of socialist revolution. At the same time, he also tells us that "the capitalist-roaders are still on the capitalist road" and so long as there are classes and class struggle and there still are the soil and conditions giving rise to capitalism and the bourgeoisie, this phenomenon of class struggle--"the capitalist-roaders are still on the capitalist road"--will remain for a long time.

This has further pointed out to us the general orientation of the struggle in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat: The target of the revolution in the socialist period is the bourgeoisie and the main target "is to purge those in power within the Party taking the capitalist road."

Why did that unrepentant capitalist-roader within the Party leap out time and again to oppose the socialist revolution? It was because "with the socialist revolution he himself came under fire." Every time the socialist revolution took a step forward from the cooperative transformation of agriculture to the criticism of bourgeois rights, he expressed opposition. This was determined by his bourgeois nature and he had to leap out and express opposition.

The question of stand is a fundamental question determining the concept and method employed by people in studying problems. Since the Marxist method of class analysis is the sharpest ideological weapon for the proletariat in carrying out its revolutionary cause, only by taking the proletarian stand can we adhere to the method of class analysis. That unrepentant capitalist-roader within the Party has never been a proletarian revolutionary, and he is nothing more than a bourgeois democrat who joined the ranks of the proletarian revolution. He has never been a Marxist but is only a fellow-traveler of the Party. Therefore, he is bound to oppose the Marxist method of class analysis. He is a "communist" in name, but actually represents the bourgeoisie. Such political stand and world outlook invariably determine that he has to stand on the side against the Party, against the workers and the poor and lower-middle peasants and against the socialist revolution.

In the present struggle to beat back the Right-deviation wind to reverse verdicts, we likewise must perseveringly apply the method of class analysis in analyzing the new changes of class relations in the period of socialism and the new characteristics of the capitalist-roaders displaying the banner of "for socialism" while concocting the intrigues of capitalist restoration. We must unite with the broad masses of cadres and people and concentrate criticism on the revisionist line pushed by that unrepentant capitalist-roader within the Party. This struggle will further raise our consciousness of class struggle and two-line struggle, build up our ability to use the concept of classes and class struggle to analyze various phenomena in society, and enable us to persevere in the struggle against the bourgeoisie within the Party--the capitalist-roaders and to carry the socialist revolution through to the end.

* * *

STUDY OF THEORY

The Mass Movement to Study Revolutionary Theory Is Irresistible

by

the theory group of a certain department of the Peking Garrison Command

(Peking Jen-min Jih-pao Mar. 21, 1976)

Last year, when the armymen and people of the whole country warmly responded to Chairman Mao's great call and launched a mass movement to study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat in order to clearly understand why it was necessary to exercise all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie, that unrepentant capitalist-roader within the Party hastily cast forth the revisionist program with "the three directives as the key link" in a vain attempt to disparage the great significance of studying the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat and undermine the mass movement to study revolutionary theory. As was pointed out by Lenin, "the development of Marxism and the propagation and consolidation of Marxist ideology in the working class are bound to make the bourgeoisie's attack against Marxism more frequent and more violent."

For the sake of defending the old system and opposing the proletarian revolution, all reactionaries and opportunists are bound to oppose the guide of revolution--Marxism. This has been so for quite some time.

Shortly after Marxism was born, all reactionary forces in Europe formed themselves into a holy alliance for vilifying and attacking the communist ideology in a vain attempt to "drive away this specter." The extensive dissemination of Leninism in Russia invoked attacks and calumny from the Tsarist government down to the petty-bourgeois narodniks (populists), who tried their utmost to defend the Tsarist monarchy and the reactionary rule of the bourgeoisie. In our country, the popularization and deepening of the mass movement to study Chairman Mao's works also invoked fear and hostility from the chieftains of opportunism within the Party. Liu Shao-ch'i and company wildly clamored that in the propaganda of Mao Tsetung Thought "there is some danger when going to excess." They immediately swung the three big sticks of "formalism," "simplification" and "vulgarization" in a vain attempt to strike down the mass movement to study Chairman Mao's works. Lin Piao repeatedly declared that Marxism-Leninism were "too far away" from us. He tried his utmost to distort and tamper with Mao Tsetung Thought, and wildly led the study movement astray. Before the great cultural revolution, that unrepentant capitalist-roader within the Party rabidly attacked the study of Mao Tsetung Thought as "social coercion", and now, he again negated the mass movement to study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Even though they adopted different measures, they shared one and the same aim which was to attack and negate Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought.

What a "there is some danger when going to excess"! On the contrary, what is truly dangerous is failure to study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, failure to use Mao Tsetung Thought to occupy all battlefronts,

and to let capitalism and revisionism spread unchecked. Is Marxism "too far away" from us? No. Marxism represents the fundamental interests of our proletariat and the broad masses of working people. It is the magic weapon which we cannot do without even for one minute in making revolution. "Too far away" is only true in that they have drifted farther and farther away from Marxism because they do not study revolutionary theory and have not the faintest touch of Marxism. What about "social coercion"? The proletariat studies and masters the theory of revolution uses Marxism to occupy all spheres of the superstructure, and exercises all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie. The bourgeoisie and its representative figures within the Party naturally feel this is "social coercion." But if this is not done, they will use revisionism to oppress the proletariat and the broad masses of working people.

"The victory of Marxism in theory compels its enemies to disguise themselves as Marxists." This time, that unrepentant capitalist-roader within the Party cast forth "taking the three directives as the key link," adopted eclectic tactics, juxtaposed Chairman Mao's three directives and negated taking class struggle as the key link, thus fundamentally negating Marxism. Their /capitalist-roaders'/ actions further testified to this point. They made speeches everywhere, and barefacedly attacked the movement to study theory of causing "ideological confusion" and the restriction of bourgeois rights as "divorcement from reality." They slandered the criticism of Water Margin and capitulationists as "taking the wind for the rain," and launched an all-out attack against the movement to study theory.

What is this "ideological confusion"? The study of the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat has enabled the broad masses of the people to have a clearer understanding of the character, target, task and future prospects of the socialist revolution, to deepen their understanding of the Party's basic line, raise their awareness of class struggle, the two-line struggle and continued revolution, enhance their ability to distinguish between genuine and sham Marxism, and strengthen their confidence in taking the socialist road. Therefore, it is not us but those for reversing verdicts and restoration who are "confused." They sense the imminent catastrophe and are scared stiff because they see that the rolling torrents of the mass movement for the study of theory have smashed the fond dream of the capitalist-roaders for restoration.

What about "divorcement from reality"? Socialist society is "a bourgeois state without the bourgeoisie," and bourgeois rights "can only be restricted under the dictatorship of the proletariat." This is an absolute truth. Innumerable facts show that bourgeois rights are the soil engendering the bourgeoisie and capitalism, and there will be serious consequences if they are not restricted. At present, the struggle between those for and against the restriction of bourgeois rights is very acute. How can it be described as "divorcement from reality?" You have opposed the "three-in-one combination" of the old, the middle-aged and the young, cursed the sending of workers, peasants and soldiers to university, attacked the scientists and technicians for taking the road of integration with the workers, peasants and soldiers, calumniated the cooperative medical service and bare-foot doctors, and so on and so forth. In a nutshell, you have strangled a lot of socialist new things which are of great significance and use toward restricting bourgeois

rights. Isn't this a living "reality"? If things are done in your way, bourgeois rights will be extended and capitalism will be restored.

What is this nonsense about "taking the wind for the rain"? The launching of the criticism of Water Margin is an important component of the deep-going study of the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is precisely by making use of this teaching material by negative example that the broad masses of the people have clearly recognized the true features of capitulationists and raised their ability to discern modern Sung Chiangs. The outcries of that unrepentant capitalist-roader within the Party simply show that he is jittery and panicky, and the more he tries to cover up a secret the more it will become known.

Chairman Mao recently pointed out: "With the socialist revolution they themselves come under fire. At the time of the cooperative transformation of agriculture there were people in the Party who opposed it, and when it comes to criticizing bourgeois rights, they resent it. You are making the socialist revolution, and yet don't know where the bourgeoisie is. It is right in the Communist Party--those in power taking the capitalist road. The capitalist-roaders are still on the capitalist road."

Chairman Mao's important directive has most profoundly analyzed the objective law of the class struggle in socialist society, and is a powerful ideological weapon for us in combating and guarding against revisionism and continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In the current great struggle between the two classes bearing on the future and destiny of our Party and state, we are resolved to carry forward the revolutionary spirit of charging at the head and fighting heroically as displayed in the years of revolutionary war, more assiduously study and apply the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, closely follow Chairman Mao's great strategic plan, take class struggle as the key link, criticize the revisionist line of that unrepentant capitalist-roader within the Party, deal a head-on blow to the Right-deviation wind to reverse verdicts, and render new meritorious service in consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat.

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ANNIVERSARY OF MAY 16 CIRCULAR

The Great Cultural Revolution Is For Waging Class Struggle

- In commemoration of the tenth anniversary of the May 16, 1966 Circular of the CCP Central Committee

by

Chin Te-hsu (金德翔), Hsu Tzu-pei (許自沛) and Liu Hung-po (刘洪博) of a certain unit of the People's Liberation Army

(Peking Kuang-ming Jih-pao May 15, 1976)

The May 16, 1966 Circular of the CCP Central Committee formulated under the personal guidance of our great leader Chairman Mao ten years ago sounded the clarion call for the great proletarian cultural revolution and constituted a powerful weapon for persisting in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and combating and guarding against revisionism. Guided by the "Circular," hundreds of millions of people throughout the country closely followed Chairman Mao's great strategic plan, smashed the two bourgeois headquarters headed by Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao, and won a great victory in the great cultural revolution. The soul-stirring facts of class struggle in the past ten years fully show that this great proletarian cultural revolution is "absolutely necessary and most timely."

Chairman Mao recently pointed out: "What is the great cultural revolution for? To wage class struggle." This once again expounded the character, task and great significance of the great cultural revolution, profoundly criticized the fallacies fabricated by the arch unrepentant capitalist-roader within the Party Teng Hsiao-p'ing to negate the great cultural revolution, and revealed the reactionary and deceptive nature of his peddling the theory of the dying out of class struggle.

Lenin said: "Opportunism does not extend the recognition of class struggle to what is the cardinal point, to the period of transition from capitalism to communism, to the period of the overthrow and the complete abolition of the bourgeoisie." ("The State and Revolution," Selected Works of Lenin, Vol. III, p. 200)

All revisionists advocate the theory of the dying out of class struggle and deny the existence of classes and class struggle in socialist society. At the beginning of the great proletarian cultural revolution, backed by the renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-ch'i, P'eng Chen and company cast forth the notorious counter-revolutionary revisionist sinister program--the "February Outline," advocated the theory of the dying out of class struggle, and vainly attempted to switch the orientation of the great proletarian cultural revolution and lead it astray to the bourgeois road of "pure academic" discussion. The renegade Lin Piao also made every effort to peddle the theory of the dying out of class struggle and took it as the theoretical weapon for attacking the proletariat. Stepping into the shoes of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao, the unrepentant capitalist-roader Teng Hsiao-p'ing also cast forth "taking the three directives as the key link" and negated

taking class struggle as the key link in a vain attempt to lead socialist revolution and socialist construction astray.

Although the theses from the "February Outline" to "taking the three directives as the key link" are different, they share the same essence of opposing the proletariat's struggle against the bourgeoisie and the dictatorship of the proletariat and share the same aim of vainly attempting to restore capitalism.

Chairman Mao recently pointed out: "What! 'taking the three directives as the key link'! Stability and unity do not mean writing off class struggle; class struggle is the key link and everything else hinges on it." Chairman Mao's instruction has hit Teng Hsiao-p'ing's vulnerable spot and laid bare the reactionary essence of this revisionist program cast forth by him.

The harsh facts of class struggle tell us that class struggle has never died out. We not only must notice that there is the bourgeoisie in society, but also must behold that the bourgeoisie is right in the Party--those in power within the Party taking the capitalist road. They represent the interests of the bourgeoisie inside and outside the Party and also have certain power in their hands. This is most dangerous.

After summing up the historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat and analyzing the current changes of class relations in Chinese socialist society, Chairman Mao pointed out: "You are making the socialist revolution, and yet don't know where the bourgeoisie is. It is right in the Communist Party--those in power taking the capitalist road." This brilliant assertion of Chairman Mao's--which defends and develops the theory of Marxism-Leninism concerning class struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat, and reveals the objective law and characteristics of class struggle in the period of socialism--is of great theoretical and practical significance in helping us clearly recognize the character, target, task and future prospects of the socialist revolution, and better understand the significance of the great cultural revolution and also the characteristics of class struggle in the period of socialism.

Why do we say that the capitalist-roaders are the bourgeoisie inside the Party? Politically, the capitalist-roaders push a revisionist line and are representatives of the bourgeoisie within the Party. Under the condition of the dictatorship of the proletariat, there are still people of the exploiting classes who refuse to give up hopes and all the time dream of changing the political climate. But because they are already very notorious, they have to find agents inside the Party with all ways and means and pin the hope for restoration on them. Therefore, so long as there are classes, there will be bourgeoisie inside the Party. The emergence of Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-p'ing precisely reflects the interests and hopes of the class enemies and that they are agents of the bourgeoisie within the Party. In the period of socialism, if we want to identify a capitalist-roader within the Party, it is most important for us to see what program, line and policy he carries out and the interests of which class he represents.

"Taking the three directives as the key link" put forward by Teng Hsiao-p'ing is a revisionist program for the all-round restoration of capitalism. The line he carries out is an out-and-out revisionist line, and the series of criminal activities perpetrated by him are in conformity with the restorationist hopes and demands of the bourgeoisie. In the counter-revolutionary political incident which took place at T'ienanmen Square, the handful of counter-revolutionaries vainly attempted to cast Teng Hsiao-p'ing in the role of China's Nagy. This clearly shows that Teng Hsiao-p'ing is the general representative of the old and new bourgeoisie as well as the unreformed landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists, and is the arch unrepentant capitalist-roader within the Party.

Economically, bourgeois rights unavoidably exist in the period of socialism and constitute an important economic base for engendering the bourgeoisie. The bourgeoisie inside the Party is also engendered from this base. Therefore, the capitalist-roaders invariably try hard to strengthen and extend bourgeois rights in order to make the socialist relations of production degenerate into capitalist relations of production and restore capitalism. The constant deepening of the socialist revolution necessarily calls for the further restriction of bourgeois rights, touches upon the vested interests of the capitalist roaders and smashes their fond dream of restoration. Therefore, they have to oppose the deepening of the socialist revolution and are particularly desperate in attacking the great cultural revolution.

Chairman Mao pointed out: "With the socialist revolution they themselves come under fire. At the time of the cooperative transformation of agriculture there were people in the Party who opposed it, and when it comes to criticizing bourgeois rights, they resent it." Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-p'ing were all like this. They opposed the restriction of bourgeois rights with so much vigor because it fundamental shakes the economic base which engenders the new bourgeoisie. Hence, the struggle for and against the restriction of bourgeois rights has become an important part of the struggle between the capitalist-roaders within the Party who seek restoration and the proletariat which is against restoration.

Ideologically, the world outlook of bourgeois democrats is the ideological source responsible for the emergence capitalist-roaders. Chairman Mao said: "Some people still remain where they were after the success of the democratic revolution. They have no idea about the change of the character of revolution and keep on practicing their 'new democracy' instead of carrying out socialist transformation. Hence they would commit Right-deviationist mistakes." The unrepentant capitalist-roader Teng Hsiao-p'ing is such a typical example. After more than two decades of socialist revolution, the workers and poor and lower-middle peasants have made progress through continuous revolution. But he stubbornly clings to the bourgeois world outlook, stands on the opposite side of the masses of the people and opposes the socialist revolution in a vain attempt to remold our Party and state according to his bourgeois physiognomy. This determines that he is bound to turn from a fellow traveler of the Party into the opponent of socialism and a Party capitalist-roader.

The bourgeoisie inside the Party is more dangerous than the bourgeoisie in society. This is because if power is in the hands of the bourgeoisie inside the Party, they would make use of such power to push the revisionist line and directly translate the bourgeoisie's hope for restoration into action of restoration. This is particularly so with capitalist-roaders like Teng Hsiao-p'ing. Once they are in a position to wield immeasurable powers and issue orders to the whole country, by waving a red flag to oppose the red flag, they could be very ferocious and move very fast in the practice of revisionism. Therefore, as we class struggle in society, we must at the same time also pay attention to grasping class struggle within the Party and constantly guard against the emergence of revisionism, particularly the emergence of revisionism in the Central Committee. We must carry forward the revolutionary spirit that "it is justified to rebel against" the capitalist-roaders in the great cultural revolution, and persevere in waging a prolonged struggle against the capitalist-roaders.

The struggle to beat back the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts now underway is the continuation and deepening of the great cultural revolution. Although we have already won a great victory in this struggle, class struggle is by no means over. So long as class struggle still exists, capitalist-roaders will surely emerge within the Party, and since the capitalist-roaders are bent on taking the capitalist road, we of the revolutionary masses must persevere in struggle. Some people always hope that the wind will abate and the waves calm down. This is not in accord with the law of class struggle. Since there is the bourgeoisie inside and outside the Party and "the capitalist-roaders are still on the capitalist road," how can the wind abate and the waves calm down? Nonetheless, we believe that although the road is tortuous, the future is bound to be bright. No matter how many adverse currents and vicious waves the capitalist-roaders would whip up on our road of advance, they could never stop the surging tide of the socialist revolution. Marxism is bound to vanquish revisionism, socialism is bound to vanquish capitalism and the proletariat is bound to vanquish the bourgeoisie. The communist cause is invincible. Let us, under the inspiration of the two brilliant and wise decisions of the Party Central Committee, concentrate our fire on deeply criticizing Teng Hsiao-p'ing and vow to win still greater victories in the struggle to repulse the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts.

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Chairman Mao pointed out: "With the socialist revolution they themselves come under fire. At the time of the cooperative transformation of agriculture there were people in the Party who opposed it, and when it comes to criticizing bourgeois rights, they resent it." Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-p'ing were all like this. They opposed the restriction of bourgeois rights with so much vigor because it fundamental shakes the economic base which engenders the new bourgeoisie. Hence, the struggle for and against the restriction of bourgeois rights has become an important part of the struggle between the capitalist-roaders within the Party who seek restoration and the proletariat which is against restoration.

Ideologically, the world outlook of bourgeois democrats is the ideological source responsible for the emergence capitalist-roaders. Chairman Mao said: "Some people still remain where they were after the success of the democratic revolution. They have no idea about the change of the character of revolution and keep on practicing their 'new democracy' instead of carrying out socialist transformation. Hence they would commit Right-deviationist mistakes." The unrepentant capitalist-roader Teng Hsiao-p'ing is such a typical example. After more than two decades of socialist revolution, the workers and poor and lower-middle peasants have made progress through continuous revolution. But he stubbornly clings to the bourgeois world outlook, stands on the opposite side of the masses of the people and opposes the socialist revolution in a vain attempt to remold our Party and state according to his bourgeois physiognomy. This determines that he is bound to turn from a fellow traveler of the Party into the opponent of socialism and a Party capitalist-roader.

The bourgeoisie inside the Party is more dangerous than the bourgeoisie in society. This is because if power is in the hands of the bourgeoisie inside the Party, they would make use of such power to push the revisionist line and directly translate the bourgeoisie's hope for restoration into action of restoration. This is particularly so with capitalist-roaders like Teng Hsiao-p'ing. Once they are in a position to wield immeasurable powers and issue orders to the whole country, by waving a red flag to oppose the red flag, they could be very ferocious and move very fast in the practice of revisionism. Therefore, as we class struggle in society, we must at the same time also pay attention to grasping class struggle within the Party and constantly guard against the emergence of revisionism, particularly the emergence of revisionism in the Central Committee. We must carry forward the revolutionary spirit that "it is justified to rebel against" the capitalist-roaders in the great cultural revolution, and persevere in waging a prolonged struggle against the capitalist-roaders.

The struggle to beat back the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts now underway is the continuation and deepening of the great cultural revolution. Although we have already won a great victory in this struggle, class struggle is by no means over. So long as class struggle still exists, capitalist-roaders will surely emerge within the Party, and since the capitalist-roaders are bent on taking the capitalist road, we of the revolutionary masses must persevere in struggle. Some people always hope that the wind will abate and the waves calm down. This is not in accord with the law of class struggle. Since there is the bourgeoisie inside and outside the Party and "the capitalist-roaders are still on the capitalist road," how can the wind abate and the waves calm down? Nonetheless, we believe that although the road is tortuous, the future is bound to be bright. No matter how many adverse currents and vicious waves the capitalist-roaders would whip up on our road of advance, they could never stop the surging tide of the socialist revolution. Marxism is bound to vanquish revisionism, socialism is bound to vanquish capitalism and the proletariat is bound to vanquish the bourgeoisie. The communist cause is invincible. Let us, under the inspiration of the two brilliant and wise decisions of the Party Central Committee, concentrate our fire on deeply criticizing Teng Hsiao-p'ing and vow to win still greater victories in the struggle to repulse the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts.

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the first to be smashed by the cultural revolution was the liu shao-chi renegade clique. his revisionist line, too, was thoroughly repudiated. liu shao-chi had betrayed the revolution as far back as in 1920's, then sneaked into the party to become an enemy agent and scab. after the nation-wide liberation, he frenziedly opposed every socialist revolutionary movement initiated by chairman mao.

on the eve of national liberation, chairman mao pointed out in his report to the second plenary session of the seventh central committee of the party: after the country-wide seizure of power by the proletariat, the principal internal contradiction is the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. he set the whole party the militant task of fighting the bourgeoisie in the political, cultural, economic and other spheres. liu shao-chi and his gang, however, clamoured that in china capitalism needed unlimited "big expansion" because it was "still in its youth" and stated that therefore "capitalist exploitation today is no crime, it is a merit". representing the interests of the bourgeoisie, they wanted to lead china onto the capitalist road.

shortly after liberation, in accordance with the resolution of the second plenary session of the seventh party central committee and the party's general line for the transitional period formulated by chairman mao, the party launched the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production in agriculture, handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce. the task had in the main been completed by 1956, an important moment for the continued advance of china's socialist revolution. but at this crucial moment, liu shao-chi trotted out the theory of the dying out of class struggle, saying that "in our country the question of which will win out, socialism or capitalism, has now been settled", and that the principal internal contradiction was "the contradiction between the advanced socialist system and the backward productive forces of society."

to counter these revisionist fallacies and in view of the rampant revisionism and capitalist restorationist moves in the soviet union, chairman mao in 1957 published his brilliant work "on the correct handling of contradictions among the people". in it, he deals with questions of classes, class contradictions and class struggle under socialism. he shows that "there is still a bourgeoisie", that "the question of which will win out, socialism or capitalism, is still not really settled", and that the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie "will continue to be long and tortuous and at times will even become very acute". thus for the first time in the history of the international communist movement, the question of continuing the revolution

under the dictatorship of the proletariat was explicitly pointed out.

in accordance with chairman mao's teachings, the party led the people of the whole country. in carrying out a series of political movements against the bourgeoisie and, as a result, the socialist revolution scored one victory after another. liu shao-chi, lin piao and their followers were, however, unreconciled to their setbacks. from 1959 to 1961, china was hit by successive natural disasters. taking advantage of this, the khrushchov renegade clique of the soviet union whipped up a vicious campaign against china. these three years also saw liu shao-chi openly attacking the socialist revolution, clamouring that it had "ended up in a mess" and that the people's communes must "return" to "individual farming".

in view of this, chairman mao in 1962 brought out the necessity of guarding against the emergence of revisionism in the party central committee and issued the great call: "never forget classes and class struggle". following this, in 1963, chairman mao again warned the whole party: if classes and class struggle are forgotten, and the dictatorship of the proletariat neglected, "then it would not take long, perhaps only several years or a decade, or several decades at most, before a counter-revolutionary restoration on a national scale inevitably occurred, the marxist-leninist party would undoubtedly become a revisionist party or a fascist party, and the whole of china would change its colour". when the country-wide socialist educational movement was started in 1964, chairman mao explicitly stressed that:
"the main target of the present movement is those in authority within the party taking the capitalist road". this tells us that among the forces attempting to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat, the capitalist roaders are the most dangerous. they are the main target of the socialist revolution. unless they are exposed, criticized and overthrown, china is in danger of slipping back to capitalism.

all these warnings and struggles did not in the least change the reactionary nature of liu shao-chi and his followers. they became more and more frenzied in their restoration activities. for a time they usurped party power, and the power in the cultural and propaganda fields, and in many localities. the bourgeoisie had exercised dictatorship over the proletariat in many departments of the superstructure. they controlled departments of education, and rejected chairman mao's educational line for bringing up worthy successors to the proletarian revolution. while accepting the soviet revisionist educational system in its entirety, liu shao-chi and his gang kept the schools more or less as they were before being taken over from the old society. they gave free rein to anti-party, anti-

socialist poisonous weeds which for many years abounded in china's press, radio and drama. they opposed chairman mao's line in medical and health work and turned the former ministry of public health into "the ministry of health for urban overlords". under their control, the former municipal party committee of peking became an impenetrable, watertight "independent kingdom". in industry, they blindly copied the soviet revisionist rules and regulations for management, which reject party leadership, advocate sole reliance on experts in running factories, and oppress the workers. they preached a slavish compradore philosophy and opposed the principle of relying on oneself and taking the initiative into one's own hands. in agriculture, they peddled the revisionist practice of "san zzu yi pao". (the extension of plots for private use, the extension of free markets, the increase of small enterprises with sole responsibility for their own profits or losses, and the fixing of output quotas based on the individual households -- translator) what was still more serious was their opposition to the study of marxism-leninism-mao tsetung thought by the people of the whole country. all this indicated the inevitability of a great class battle.

the chinese people, who are determined to follow the socialist road, could no longer tolerate the activities of the handful of capitalist roaders aimed at restoring capitalism. chairman mao summed up the experience of past struggles and, with great proletarian boldness of vision, aroused the masses to expose "openly, in an all-round way and from below" the crimes of the capitalist roaders in pushing the revisionist line for capitalist restoration. this form of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat is the great proletarian cultural revolution. in this great struggle, revolutionary young people were courageous pathbreakers and the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers acted as the main force. liu shao-chi and his gang resorted to a variety of intrigues to suppress the revolutionary mass movement. but this could not save them from their doom. with the participation of the masses, liu shao-chi's case was examined and his true features as a renegade, hidden traitor and scab were brought to light. his bourgeois headquarters composed of deserters and renegades of the proletariat was smashed.

the shattering of the lin piao anti-party clique was another great victory won by the chinese people following the overthrow of the liu shao-chi renegade clique. lin piao was a counter-revolutionary double-dealer and conspirator "who spoke nicely to your face while stabbing you in the back". in this way he followed the confucian precept to restrain oneself and return to the rites. during and after the ninth national congress of the communist party of china in 1969, he mounted one conspiracy after another in an attempt to

institute in china a feudal-comprador-fascist dictatorship. he went even further to plot a counter-revolutionary armed coup d'etat in a wild attempt to assassinate chairman mao, set up a rival party central committee and usurp the supreme power of the party and state. after his scheme was disclosed on september 13, 1971, lin piao surreptitiously boarded a plane, took flight as a defector to the soviet revisionists, and died in a crash at undur khan in the people's republic of mongolia. the communist party of china immediately launched the movement to criticize lin piao and confucius, settling accounts with the crimes of the lin piao anti-party clique politically, ideologically and organizationally and criticizing lin piao's counter-revolutionary revisionist line.

the brilliant victory

reviewing the history of the struggle between the two lines within the party, we can see that "the current great proletarian cultural revolution is absolutely necessary and most timely for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, preventing capitalist restoration and building socialism." the brilliant victory it has scored further testifies to the wisdom of chairman mao's thesis.

the great proletarian cultural revolution has shattered the two bourgeois headquarters of liu shao-chi and lin piao that existed within the party, while educating and saving a large number of cadres who had committed errors under the influence of their revisionist line. it has enabled our party to become more strong and vigorous. the study of marxist-leninist works including chairman mao's works has helped the masses of cadres and people raise their marxist-leninist theoretical level, increase their ability to distinguish revisionism and heightened their consciousness of the need to continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. this is the most reliable guarantee for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and preventing capitalist restoration.

in the early stage of the great proletarian cultural revolution, chairman mao put forward the question of exercising an all-round dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie in all fields of the superstructure. at a time when the lin piao anti-party clique had been destroyed and the great victory won in the movement to criticize lin piao and confucius, chairman mao once again called on the whole party and the people of the whole country to study the theory on the proletarian dictatorship and restriction of bourgeois right. in order to accomplish the fighting task set forth by chairman mao, the chinese people drew on their revolutionary initiative, and created a large number of new socialist things.

in the course of the cultural revolution, hundreds of millions of the chinese people studied marxism-leninism-mao tsetung thought on an extensive scale and in a deep-going way, and many theoretical contingents of workers, peasants and soldiers came to the fore in this study movement. the wide-spread mastery of revolutionary theory in a country of 800-million is a great innovation in the history of the communist movement. great victories have been achieved by the chinese people in transforming the part of the superstructure that was not in conformity with the socialist economic base and in restricting bourgeois right, such as the direct involvement of the working class in the socialist revolution in the superstructure and ideological fields, the three-in-one combinations of the old, the middle-aged and the young in leading bodies, the revolution in literature and art, the revolution in education, the settling of educated youth in the countryside, the "may 7" cadre school, the emergence of barefoot doctors and co-operative medical service, cadre participation in collective productive labour and worker participation in factory management. all these new socialist things marked victorious advances in socialist revolution in our vast motherland.

the great proletarian cultural revolution has broken with old ideas, old habits and other spiritual shackles that have long fettered the working people of all nationalities in our country, and greatly fired their enthusiasm for building socialism. in the past decade, the mass movements of "in agriculture, learn from tachai". and "in industry, learn from taching" have been constantly deepening, and our country has victoriously fulfilled the third and fourth five-year plans. in the past decade, industrial production has increased rapidly and good harvests have been reaped for years running; the urban and rural markets are brisk, and people's living standards have been rising steadily. a man-made earth satellite was recovered last year, indicating the new level china has attained in science and technology and the national defence construction. all this had laid down the necessary conditions for building our country into a powerful modern socialist country in the coming 25 years.

chairman mao's revolutionary line in foreign affairs has scored one victory after another in the past ten years of the cultural revolution. china's legitimate status in the united nations was restored, and our country has established diplomatic relations with 108 countries on the basis of the five principles of peaceful co-existence. there have been an ever-increasing number of exchange visits between the people of china and other countries of the world. the cultural revolution has destroyed the fond dream of the social imperialism which placed its hope on liu shao-chi, lin piao and

company to subvert socialist china. the brezhnev clique laments that the cultural revolution is a "great tragedy", and this shows that the great proletarian cultural revolution which combatted revisionism and prevented its emergence, has precisely hit where it hurts them most.

the struggle continues and is deepening

chairman mao recently pointed out that the bourgeoisie "is right in the communist party -- those in power taking the capitalist road. the capitalist-roaders are still on the capitalist road." this tells us that so long as classes, class contradictions and class struggle still exist and so long as the influences of the bourgeoisie and international imperialism and revisionism still exist, capitalist-roaders will appear in the party. therefore, we must persevere in taking class struggle as the key link and wage the struggle to combat revisionism and prevent its emergence. as chairman mao pointed out: "the present great cultural revolution is only the first; there will inevitably be many more in the future."

any great revolution in history is followed by the struggle to affirm or deny it, not excepting the cultural revolution. between last summer and autumn, teng hsiao-ping, the arch unrepentant capitalist roader in the party, took the lead in stirring up a right deviationist wind to reverse correct verdicts of the cultural revolution and settle accounts with it. this is a concentrated manifestation of the struggle between the two classes and the two lines under the new situation. the current anti-right deviationist struggle is a continuation and deepening of the cultural revolution.

before the cultural revolution, teng hsiao-ping was the no.2 chieftain of liu shao-chi's bourgeois headquarters. criticized by the masses in the cultural revolution, teng hsiao-ping admitted that he had committed the crime of pushing the revisionist line to restore capitalism and vowed: "i'll mend my ways" and "i'll never reverse the verdict". but not long after resuming work, he threw off his disguise, formulated a program and began to prepare public opinion for an organized and planned attack on the party, with the spearhead directed at our great leader chairman mao. he dished up the revisionist program of "taking the three directives as the key link", which preaches the theory of the dying out of class struggle and that of productive forces, opposes taking class struggle as the key link and tampers with the party's basic line. he fostered counter-revolutionary opinions by various base means and spread strange stories to negate the cultural revolution, created splits and directed the spearhead of his attack at the party cental committee headed by chairman mao. he opposed the setting up of revolutionary

leading bodies of three-in-one combination. he attacked and pushed aside the old, middle-aged and young cadres who upheld chairman mao's revolutionary line, and mustered a handful of unrepentant capitalist-roaders to settle old scores with the revolutionary masses. the so-called "all-round rectification" he called for was in essence an attack on the proletariat by the bourgeoisie and aimed at cancelling with one stroke chairman mao's revolutionary line and policies, the achievements of the great cultural revolution and the superiority of the socialist system. the revisionist line pushed by teng hsiao-ping is a continuation of the counter-revolutionary revisionist line of liu shao-chi and lin piao. if this line was followed, the achievements of the entire chinese revolution would be nullified. the capitalist road taken by him would lead back to the semi-colonial and semi-feudal old china and reduce the country to an appendage of imperialism and social-imperialism.

early in april this year, a handful of counter-revolutionaries engineered a counter-revolutionary political incident at tienanmen square. they even attempted to cast teng hsiao-ping in the role of nagy, the chieftain of the counter-revolutionary coup d'etat in hungary. this has fully shown that teng hsiao-ping is the general representative of the bourgeoisie both inside and outside the party.

teng hsiao-ping's perverted action infuriated the people of the whole country. after the counter-revolutionary political incident took place at tienanmen square, the political bureau of the c.p.c. central committee, on the proposal of our great leader chairman mao, was unanimously agreed on the appointment of comrade hua kuo-feng as first vice-chairman of the c.p.c. central committee and premier of the state council and on the dismissal of teng hsiao-ping from all posts both inside and outside the party. the people of all nationalities in the country firmly support the wise resolutions of the party central committee. under the leadership of the party central committee headed by chairman mao, the people throughout the country are marching forward in triumph and starting an upsurge of deeply criticizing teng hsiao-ping and repulsing the right deviationist wind. in the current struggle, the cadres and masses have further studied marxism-leninism-mao tsetung thought. under the leadership of the party central committee headed by chairman mao, the chinese people are determined to persevere in taking class struggle as the key link and to carry through to the end the continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

STRUGGLE AGAINST TENG HSIAO-P'ING

Jen-min Jih-pao Editorial: "The Masses Are the Real Heroes"

(NCNA-English Peking, May 29, 1976)

today's "people's daily" carries an editorial entitled "the masses are the real heroes" which reads in full as follows:

turning over the pages of recent newspapers, people often come across reports on how comrades at some grass-roots units as early as last year were consciously boycotting teng hsiao-ping's right deviationist attempt to reverse correct verdicts. such reports are both a profound education and a great inspiration.

the broad masses of revolutionary teachers and students at tsinghua university, peking university and the chaoyang agricultural college have all along "worked directly against" teng hsiao-ping's revisionist line. this is now well known. following are examples of what happened in some other places.

when "taking the three directives as the key link" was made known at the chaiho lead and zinc mine in the mountainous region of northern liaoning province, the secretary of the party committee there led his "squad members" in diligently studying chairman mao's instructions. they took a resolute stand against it, and decided that in future whether in writing articles, giving talks or drafting a report they should not mention "taking the three directives as the key link" but should stick to chairman mao's consistent teaching, that is "taking class struggle as the key link and abide by the party's basic line".

last summer, when the shanghai no. 5 iron and steel plant heard about teng hsiao-ping's "taking the three directives as the key link", someone asked a member of the theoretical study group in the second workshop "is this 'taking the three directives as the key link' a correct formulation? this comrade answered explicitly: "no, it does not conform to chairman mao's consistent teachings." the secretary of a branch of the communist youth league at the shanghai hsinghuo spare parts factory pointed out unequivocally at a factory-wide cadres meeting last july: "'taking the three directives as the key link' is in effect opposed to putting politics in command of economic and vocational work."

the party branch secretary of the hsiaochinchuang production brigade on the outskirts of tientsin felt something was wrong with "taking the three directives as the key link" when he first heard it. he did not transmit the formulation to the masses, let alone put

it into practice. in face of the ill wind stirred up by teng hsiao-ping to attack and vilify the brigade, the party branch did not falter nor did the poor and lower-middle peasants bow in submission. they said: "a 'hurricane' is nothing to be afraid of. let's go into action and work directly against it excl."

a 22-year-old fighter in the sixth company of a wuhan garrison unit heard a relayed "speech" by teng hsiao-ping in september last year. he felt that teng hsiao-ping was striking up a tune in opposition to chairman mao's teachings by prating about "rectification" while keeping mum on the subject of class struggle and political line and by trumpeting that to fight a tough battle means to "fight a battle of steel". associating all this with teng hsiao-ping's old theme of "white cat, black cat", the young soldier felt that this was a cardinal issue involving the political line. with a great resolve, he discussed what he thought about the matter in a letter to chairman mao.

there are many other cases of this kind.

our great leader chairman mao has always taught us that the masses are the real heroes. in the course of the great proletarian cultural revolution, he has on many occasions supported the creative initiative of the masses, discovered, summarized and popularized many new emerging things and thus given impetus to the steady development of the entire movement. in the current struggle to criticize teng hsiao-ping and repulse the right deviationist attempt to reverse correct verdicts, chairman mao has once again pointed out: "the masses are the real heroes, while we are childish and ignorant"; "very often people at the lower levels can do better than those at the higher and the masses than the leaders; leaders are not as good as ordinary labourers because they are detached from the masses and lack practical experience." facts fully testify to this truth of historical materialism incisively set out by chairman mao and prove that, tempered in the great proletarian cultural revolution, the masses have greatly heightened their consciousness of class struggle and the struggle between the two lines, increased their ability to distinguish genuine from sham marxism, and enhanced their immunity to revisionism and their fighting capacity to combat it. with masses as valiant as these, our party and our country are assured of tremendous achievements and boundless prospects.

how is it that these ordinary masses and grass-roots cadres dared to struggle against teng hsiao-ping's revisionist line? because they have steadfastly put into practice chairman mao's theory on continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. through the great cultural revolution, chairman mao's analysis of classes and class struggle in socialist society

and his teaching never to forget class struggle have taken deep root in their minds. they want revolution and progress; they demand the gradual restriction of bourgeois right and the continuous elimination of the "birth marks of the old society" in the economic base and all spheres of the superstructure in order to create conditions in which it will be impossible either for the bourgeoisie to continue to exist, or for a new bourgeoisie to arise. they understand that the basic demand of the masses of people who account for over 95 per cent of the population is to take the socialist road. the party capitalist-roaders, who push the revisionist line and work for restoration and retrogression, stand completely in opposition to the will of the masses. it is imperative to rise in struggle against them. this kind of revolutionary spirit of the proletariat is precious beyond measure and all can learn from it.

the masses of people not only firmly oppose revisionism but are good at spotting it. this is because they have striven to arm themselves with marxism-leninism-mao tsetung thought. the above-mentioned comrades were able to smell a rat immediately teng hsiao-ping uttered his revisionist trash because they had assiduously studied marxist-leninist classics and chairman mao's writings and worked hard to grasp the basic concepts of marxism. it is precisely with the aid of marxism -- the telescope and the microscope in political matters -- that their horizons have widened and their eyesight has become keen. no matter how revisionism disguises itself or changes tactics, they can strip it of its mask and expose it for what it is. is the struggle between the two lines something abstract and unknowable? is it absolutely unavoidable for some people to be hoodwinked and misled? no. this depends on whether or not they "read and study conscientiously and have a good grasp of marxism."

since the start of the great proletarian cultural revolution, chairman mao has many times stressed that a line or a viewpoint should be constantly and repeatedly explained. "they must be made known to the broad revolutionary masses." when chairman mao called for a thorough understanding of why lenin spoke of exercising dictatorship over the bourgeoisie, he also emphasized that "this should be made known to the whole nation." calling on the people to comment on the ancient novel "water margin", chairman mao once again stressed the need "to help all the people recognize capitulationists." by placing the struggle between the two lines in the party before the masses and mobilizing millions upon millions of people to expose and criticize revisionism, chairman mao has created an extremely important new experience in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. we must make good use of this experience in the current movement to criticize teng hsiao-ping. the current criticism of teng hsiao-ping

is being carried out under the leadership of the party committees at all levels. the leadership should learn from the masses and those at the higher levels should learn from those at the lower. it is essential to fully mobilize the masses, bring their initiative into full play, pool their wisdom and guide them to advance continuously along chairman mao's revolutionary line, subject teng hsiao-ping's counter-revolutionary revisionist line to a penetrating and thorough-going criticism, and carry the anti-right deviationist struggle through to the end.

TAIWAN

Taiwan Intellectuals Awakening

(NCNA-English Peking, May 29, 1976)

a big-character poster similar to those in common use on the chinese mainland appeared recently on the campus of taiwan's tunghai university, western news agencies report.

the poster, which was written by a group at the university and signed the "tunghai alumni's association", called for the overthrow of the chiang clique's president of the university. according to agency reports, the university students and faculty members had long been incensed by the president, a member of the chiang clique. they were further infuriated by a recent order of the university president depriving all juniors and post-graduate students of the right to live in the university dormitories and other "injustices in the distribution of dormitory rooms." the upshot was that the president was forced to resign.

the use of the big-character poster at the university as a weapon in the struggle by students and faculty against the chiang clique signalled the daily increased awakening of the intellectuals in taiwan. with the changes in the international situation and the growing prestige of the socialist motherland in recent years, intellectuals in taiwan, students and other young people in particular, are undergoing changes in their own thinking. they are sternly denouncing the chiang clique's reactionary rule and seeking revolutionary truth. the liberation of taiwan and the unification of the motherland has become a rising cry among them.

revolutionary ideas are spreading in taiwan through various channels, according to press reports. taiwan papers say that many university students, having studied revolutionary theory and seen through the reactionary nature of the chiang clique, regard it as an honour to denounce the kuomintang publicly.

press reports point out that fewer and fewer people are being taken in by the chiang clique's anti-communist propaganda. many students have raised the following questions concerning the clique's anti-communist propaganda in letters addressed to chiang ching-kuo, son and successor of chiang kai-shek as ringleader of the clique:

"it is alleged that 'communism is against human nature,' but why then have so many countries in the world established diplomatic relations with the chinese communists?"

"you say that the chinese communists are beset with trouble, but they have ruled the mainland for more than 20 years without any sign of collapse. how do you explain that?"

"why is it that there is still such a wide disparity between the rich and the poor in taiwan, where the principle of people's livelihood (one of the three people's principles advanced by dr. sun yat-sen -- editor) has been practised for many years?"

the journal "university" which caters to intellectuals in taiwan, last august carried an article entitled "don't hide the scandals behind the figleaf of anti-communism." in its vigorous criticism of the chiang clique's anti-communist propaganda, the article says: "many scandalous acts have been perpetrated under the pretext of opposing communism. anti-communism has become a figleaf for such perpetrators."

the taipei "united daily" says in a recent article that the chiang clique's anti-communist propaganda "has become such unsavoury reading matter that most people disdain it."

the bi-weekly "china tribune" says in its issue of march 10 this year that taiwan compatriots are fed up with the chiang clique's rumours and slanders against the mainland of the motherland. despite such repeated rumours and slanders, taiwan compatriots remain "sober-headed" and "rational" and refuse to believe them, it says, adding that taiwan compatriots "appreciate the chinese communist regime."

intellectuals in taiwan closely follow the development of the socialist revolution and construction on the mainland of the motherland, and some have acted in coordination with it. when the movement to criticize lin piao and confucius was being launched on the mainland, a lecturer of taiwan university's department of philosophy wrote

several articles on the legalist school which were carried in the press. the articles praised han fei, shang yang and kuan chung as "forerunners of the legalist school" and criticized confucius as the "guardian of the autocratic system."

when issuing a new textbook for the senior middle school chinese language course, editors of the "centre of editing and translation" took out several articles by chieftains of the chiang clique in praise of the doctrines of confucius and mencius and those worshipping the confucianist and opposing the legalist school, and replaced them with writings by legalists. the chiang clique attacked the textbook editors for five months, but the latter refused to compromise and dismissed the objections as "ridiculous" and "nonsensical" which "we reject completely".

at the same time, a number of students annotated and published some of the works by the legalists hsun tzu and han fei, two well-known scholars during the warring states period 2,000 years ago. the taipei journal "new knowledge" revealed that faculty members and students of tunghai university had sternly denounced the chiang clique for its worship of confucianism and opposition to the legalists. they accused chiang clique elements of "ideological and academic regimentation, compelling people to study the confucian 'four books and five classics' to get them to blindly accept confucian doctrines and superstitions." "these elements might gain fame and fortune but the society would retrogress as a result of their attempts to turn things back," the faculty members and students of the university pointed out.

true to the socialist motherland, more and more intellectuals in taiwan are demanding the liberation of taiwan and unification of the motherland. they have written poems in praise of the great achievements on the mainland of the motherland under the guidance of the great leader chairman mao and the chinese communist party.

an article in the inaugural issue of the journal "taiwan political review" last august says that with the mainland of the motherland growing stronger every day, "it is only natural that taiwan's intellectuals, particularly the younger generation, find it hard to resist the attraction." "that is why taiwan's youth have undergone qualitative changes deep in their hearts although they are no longer nostalgic for the mainland," the journal adds.

the bi-weekly "china tribune" inaugurated on october 10 last year carried articles and talks by 21 university professors, department deans and research fellows under the headings: "the present-day chinese" and "scholars of taiwan provincial origin on state affairs". a

professor of economics at taiwan university says in his article: "in order to alleviate the difficulties that the unification in the future will involve, we must find ways and means to widen the scope of our dialogue with compatriots of all walks of life on the mainland, and get acquainted with each other's situation."

the daily awakening of taiwan's intellectuals has struck fear into the chiang gang's ruling clique. the clique has intensified its control of the institutes of higher education through use of special agents and clamoured for intensifying psychological build-up influence on the students. in addition, the chiang party organ, the "central daily news", has carried articles vilifying those intellectuals in taiwan who dared to criticize the reactionary rule of the chiang clique. but the chiang clique is only wasting effort in its attempts to repress the progressive trend among taiwan's intellectuals by fascist atrocities.

LITERARY & ART WORKS BY PLA MEN

PLA Amateur Literary and Art Creation Flourish

(NCNA-English Peking, May 28, 1976)

the great proletarian cultural revolution has given great impetus to the creation of amateur literary and art works in the chinese people's liberation army and it is now an invigorating scene with a hundred flowers blossoming in full.

the p.l.a. has since 1972 arranged two nation-wide photo exhibitions and two fine arts exhibitions displaying more than 1,900 items. some 460 literary works by p.l.a. soldiers have been published including novels, poems, essays, plays, operas and stories. many p.l.a. units have established their own periodicals and magazines which publish various forms of literary and art works. these works are of incomparably better quality than those created before the great proletarian cultural revolution. more members are participating and much more is being turned out. the engineering corps has published 38 collections of literary and art works in the last few years, but in the 17 years before the cultural revolution it published not a single word.

through their experiences in the great proletarian cultural revolution, the commanders and fighters have become more aware of the class struggle in the realm

of the superstructure. they create literary and art works in close connection with the great struggle to combat and prevent revisionism and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat. they regard their work as a battle and their creations as weapons.

activists in literary and art are found in all p.l.a. units. among them are battle-steeled commanders as well as new recruits. the eighth company of an artillery regiment of the peking units have in the last two years produced some 900 art works and run 12 exhibitions. albums of many of these creations have been published.

the p.l.a. amateur literary and art workers have made new breakthroughs in forms and content in their creations. tens of thousands of works have been created expressing warm praise for the great chinese communist party, army and people, the socialist motherland, the great proletarian cultural revolution and new socialist things and chairman mao's proletarian revolutionary line.

the p.l.a. amateur literary and art creations are going full steam ahead in line with chairman mao's teaching that we must make revolutionary literature and art a powerful weapon "for uniting and educating the people and for attacking and destroying the enemy". most of the hundreds of literary and art works which have been published since 1972 have drawn their themes from the actual struggle of two classes, two roads and two lines.

a company of a red army regiment of the nanking units, known as the thousands of poems company, created more than 7,500 revolutionary poems in the thousand li march to southwestern china during the liberation war, thus inspiring the soldiers' fighting will to advance boldly. today, the commanders and fighters have again taken up their pens, and are today writing poems in praise of the great victory of the great proletarian cultural revolution and to promote in a deep-going way the constant development of the struggle to criticize teng hsiao-ping and beat back the right deviationist attempt to reverse correct verdicts.

recruits to the literary and art front come to the fore in the vigorous development of the creative activities, and the ranks are growing rapidly. under the cultivation of the party, a great number of amateur writers have advanced in the storm of class struggle and are steadily maturing.

MONGOLIAN MEDICINE

Medical Experience by Mongolian Method Summed Up in Inner Mongolia

(NCNA-English Huhehot, May 28, 1976)

since the start of the great proletarian cultural revolution, the medical workers in the inner mongolian autonomous region have been summing up and compiling books and material on mongolian medicines and treatment methods in a move to carry on and develop a part of china's national heritage in medicine. the inner mongolia medical college has compiled 17 such books, eight of which have come off the press, including a medical dictionary.

the medical units in the autonomous region, banners and cities have compiled 44 books. they are also translating classics on mongolian medicines and treatment. the mongolian language medical handbooks already published include "medicinal herbs in inner mongolia" and "mongolian pharmacology".

chinpa, an 80-year-old mongolian physician, recently compiled "notes on clinical experience in treatment and medication" which includes a section on his long and famous experience in treating hepatitis. however, before the cultural revolution, he was denied the opportunity to publish his experience. because of the influence of liu shao-chi's counter-revolutionary revisionist line. doctor chinpa said: "the great proletarian cultural revolution is excellent excl. i want to contribute all i can to the cause of socialism."

mongolian medical treatment and pharmacology has been developed through long years of struggle waged by the people of mongolian nationality against all kinds of diseases. it is popular in inner mongolia, heilungkiang, kansu, ningsia, sinkiang and chinghai. it has a long history, replete with its own local and national character. in the course of development it has absorbed the medical experience of the fraternal nationalities such as that of the han and the tibetan people and formed a unique system of its own. typical of the medicine is the small doses which are effective, inexpensive and easy to take, and much liked by the various nationalities. highly effective medicaments have been evolved for the treatment of scurvy, rheumatism, back and leg pains, hepatitis, stomach troubles and peptic ulcers. a traditional medical treatment is the herbal bath. now many people's communes and production brigades have established facilities for providing this treatment.

before liberation, only the inner mongolian lords and nobles enjoyed such care. after liberation, this kind of medical treatment almost died out due to interference by the revisionist line and people suffered a great deal from the lack of medical care. with the cultural revolution and criticism of the revisionist line, chairman mao's proletarian revolutionary line and the party's policy on nationalities could be carried out. this meant that this kind of medical practice was revived and given a new lease of life.

at present, in the whole autonomous region there are 96 medical units and there are barefoot doctors trained in mongolian medicine in 170 stock breeding brigades. most of the clinics in the communes have doctors trained in mongolian medicine. banner (county) hospitals have special department of mongolian medicine or doctors of this kind. some hospitals have special beds set aside for patients under this type of medical treatment. all these measures have helped to strengthen the work of the inner mongolia chinese (mongolian) medical research institute and silinghol league mongolian medical research institute and helped them to become the guiding centres for scientific research.

PAINTING EXHIBITIONS

Shanghai Children's Painting Exhibition

(NCNA-English Shanghai, May 29, 1976)

the 1976 shanghai children's painting exhibition held in the shanghai art gallery recently displayed 370 works by children between six and seventeen years old, from kindergartens and primary and middle schools. the exhibits included traditional chinese brush work, oil paintings, new year pictures, serial pictures, sketches and embroidery.

among the pictures, many sing the praises of the great proletarian cultural revolution and socialist innovations. others extol the brilliant achievements of the revolution in education and denounce teng hsiao-ping's right deviationist attempt to reverse correct verdicts.

"happy news spreads to hsiangyang village", a gouache, by liang kang of the meichou middle school vividly depicts the people in the village warmly hailing the two resolutions

of the central committee of the communist party of china on the appointment of hua kuo-feng as first vice-chairman of the central committee of the c. p. c. and premier of the state council and on the dismissal of teng hsiao-ping from all posts both inside and outside the party. this picture represents the entire chinese people's firm support for the two resolutions.

another gouache, "beat back right deviationist attempt to reverse correct verdicts of cultural revolution", was drawn by ku mi, a second grade student of the no. 4 primary school, tungchangchih street. it shows several red-scarved youngsters holding up their fists in a denunciation gesture against the unrepentant party capitalist-roader teng hsiao-ping. chinese children follow chairman mao's teachings in making revolution and repudiating the bourgeoisie and revisionism.

"teacher and pupils" is an oil painting by tang tehnien of the shanghai no. 2 middle school, in the painting, students listen attentively to a poor peasant telling them about farming. chinese children regard workers and poor and lower-middle peasants as their teachers from whom they eagerly learn the spirit of working for the revolution.

among the works are two traditional chinese paintings by liu yun-chou, a 6-year-old girl from a kindergarten. "i'll grow up and work in a frontier area" pictures a little girl carrying a small kit on her back, astride a wooden horse. in her hand is a photo of her sister, a high spiriting young woman riding on horse back in a border area where she is working to build and defend the country. another of this child's paintings praises the barefoot doctors, an innovation in the great cultural revolution.

since its opening, the exhibition has drawn large numbers of viewers including children, artists, workers, peasants and soldiers. middle and primary school students studied the paintings closely during their visits. one comment from a group of artists runs: "these paintings in bright and clear colours are vivid and rich in content. they show that there has been improvement both ideologically and artistically".

the fine arts amateurs are theoretical activists in middle and primary schools playing a militant role in revolutionary struggles. they draw blackboard pictures, run revolutionary mass criticism bulletins, and engage in other activities in connection with political campaigns. the leadership of the schools provides favourable conditions for their activities. when the students are doing their stint in the countryside or in factories, the fine arts groups are organized to learn from the poor and lower-middle peasants, and are given time for their art work. they get help from both professionals and amateurs.

CRUDE OIL WHARVES

100,000-Ton Crude Oil Wharf Completed in Northeast China

(NCNA-English Shenyang, May 29, 1976)

china has completed a new crude oil wharf of the 100,000-ton class in talien, northeast china.

two tankers, one 100,000 tons and another 50,000 tons, were recently filled at the wharf; operations proved it to be entirely satisfactory.

located in nienyu bay, the wharf was completed eight months ahead of schedule in an excellent situation when the criticism of teng hsiao-ping and the anti-right deviationist struggle is deepening.

the wharf is part of a new deep-water petroleum port now under construction. the project started in november, 1974. the deep-water oil port is china's biggest and its technology more advanced than other ports in the country.

a joint examination group of liaoning province and the ministry of communications made a detailed inspection and found the wharf up to standard in terms of structure, oil-filling technology and architectural quality.

under the guidance of the luta city committee of the chinese communist party, the port construction command organized its members to study marxism-leninism-mao tsetung thought in the course of the work. they took class struggle as the key link, upheld the principle of "maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in our own hands and relying on our own efforts", and organized various quarters concerned to make co-ordinated efforts in the mass movement. this helped them achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results in the construction.

the project is chinese designed and the construction is being carried out by chinese workers.

the wharf was designed by faculty members and students of the talien engineering institute. in the course of the revolution in education, they worked on the construction site, integrating themselves with the building workers.

the welding of the superstructure of a steel bridge with a span of 100 metres, the assembling, processing and the work of making equipment for the project were undertaken by 3,500 workers from some 20 factories in luta city. armymen stationed locally and local poor and lower-middle peasants, industrial enterprises, government organizations and schools also lent a helping hand in the work.

MERCURY MINING

Central China Mine Sets New Tunnelling Record

(NCNA-English Changsha, May 28, 1976)

a mercury mine in the central china province of hunan recently set a new national record by tunnelling 1,056.8 metres per month in a single-head gallery.

this achievement of the hsinhuang mercury mine compares favourably with outstanding tunnelling performances under similar conditions anywhere else in the world.

a meeting was called by the ministry of metallurgical industry and the hunan provincial revolutionary committee on may 18 to celebrate the event, at which the honourable title "fast-speed tunnelling team daring to scale the heights" was conferred upon the record-setting crew and its entire membership commended.

opened some 300 years ago, the hsinhuang mine was written off as exhausted by foreign specialists before the great proletarian cultural revolution. disruption by liu shao-chi's counter-revolutionary revisionist line aggravated the backward state of affairs in the mine, and the rate of single-head drivage remained for a long period at about 100 metres per month.

with tremendous socialist enthusiasm sparked by the great cultural revolution, the miners steadily improved their tunnelling efficiency and chalked up their first national record of 707.3 metres in 1973. from then on, they set themselves the goal of boring 1,000 metres per month.

the miners further heightened their political consciousness through conscientious study of marxist-leninist classics and chairman mao's works and penetrating criticism of teng hsiao-ping's cult of foreign technology during the current anti-right deviationist struggle. cooperating with a research institute, they succeeded in devising a set of high-speed tunnelling machines with which they established the latest national record.

INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION

Sinkiang's Industry Steams Ahead

(NCNA-English Urumchi, May 28, 1976)

industry in the sinkiang uighur autonomous region, northwest china, has been forging ahead with the impetus given by the struggle to repulse the right deviationist attempt to reverse the correct decisions of the great proletarian cultural revolution.

total value of industrial production in the first four months of this year was 14.3 per cent over the same period last year, hitting an all-time high for the corresponding period.

output of 54 major industrial products showed increases, with 24 of them more than doubled. 25 industrial products topped the one-third mark of their respective annual targets, with steel fulfilling 40.16 per cent of its annual plan and rolled steel 54.09 per cent. in the fuel and power industries, coal was up by 23.4 per cent over the same period last year, crude oil 10.08 per cent and electricity 20.6 per cent. industrial products for farm use such as chemical fertilizer, small hydroturbines, pumps, tractors and diesel engines all registered considerable increases.

workers of various nationalities in sinkiang have during the last few months conscientiously studied chairman mao's important instructions concerning the anti-right deviationist struggle and the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat. numerous study classes have been set up in factories, mines, oil fields and transport lines, and the workers have been indignantly denouncing the reactionary crimes of the arch unrepentant party capitalist-roader teng hsiao-ping.

cadres at all levels have taken the lead in study and criticism and persevered in placing revolution in command of production. in the course of the study and criticism movement, the party committee of the tushantzu oil refinery under the sinkiang petroleum administration has taken further steps to implement the "charter of the anshan iron and steel company" and encourage the revolutionary initiative of the workers. as a result, the refinery fulfilled all its targets for the first four months of this year ahead of schedule, with crude oil processing and output of gasoline, kerosene, diesel and lubricants reaching the highest peaks since the refinery was founded.

FISHERIES

East China Province Reports Good Spring Catches

(NCNA-English Hangchow, May 29, 1976)

east china's chekiang province, which has one of china's largest fishing grounds in the east china sea, reports record catches this spring. the harvest in the first three months of this year totalled more than 200,000 tons, double the figure for the same 1975 period.

since the start of the struggle to repulse the right deviationist attempt to reverse correct verdicts, cadres and fishermen of the province, under the leadership of party committees at various levels, have conscientiously studied chairman mao's important directives and sharply criticized the reactionary crimes of teng hsiao-ping, the arch unrepentant capitalist-roader in the party, and aroused their socialist enthusiasm. fishing boats put to sea earlier than previous years.

a 70 days' catch by the fishermen from taichow prefecture equalled the figure for the first six months last year. those from choushan prefecture fulfilled the first quarter's quotas for sales of fish to the state in the one month of january.

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* FOREIGN RELATIONS *
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CHINA AND ALBANIA

Comrade Mehmet Shehu Receives Outgoing Chinese Ambassador to Albania

(NCNA-English Tirana, May 28, 1976)

comrade mehmet shehu, member of the political bureau of the central committee of the albanian party of labour and chairman of the council of ministers, today received the outgoing chinese ambassador to albania liu chen-hua.

albanian foreign minister nesti nase was present on the occasion.

the meeting proceeded in a very cordial and friendly atmosphere.

Comrade Carmani Gives Banquet in Honor of Outgoing Chinese Ambassador to Albania

(NCNA-English Tirana, May 28, 1976)

adil carcani, member of the political bureau of the central committee of the albanian party of labour and first vice-chairman of the council of ministers, gave a banquet here yesterday evening in honour of the outgoing chinese ambassador to albania liu chen-hua.

the banquet was attended by spiro koleka, member of the political bureau of the party central committee, vice-chairman of the council of ministers and chairman of the albania-china friendship association; llambi gegprifti, alternate member of the political bureau of the party central committee and vice-minister of defence; and others.

diplomats of the chinese embassy were also present.

in his toast, comrade carcani paid tribute to the great friendship between albania and china forged by the great leaders of the two peoples comrade enver hoxha and chairman mao tsetung, a friendship which

has gone through steady tests and developed in the struggle against imperialism and revisionism. he also spoke highly of china's great proletarian cultural revolution and the great victories won in the struggle to criticize teng hsiao-ping's counter-revolutionary revisionist line and repulse the right deviationist wind to reverse correct verdicts now under way in china.

in reply, comrade liu chen-hua acclaimed the successive new victories won by the heroic albanian people in socialist revolution and socialist construction under the leadership of the central committee of the albanian party of labour headed by comrade enver hoxha.

the banquet proceeded in a very cordial and friendly atmosphere.

Chinese Ambassador to Albania Leaves for Home

(NCNA-English Tirana, May 29, 1976)

chinese ambassador to albania liu chen-hua left here for home today at the end of his term of office.

he was seen off at the airport by reiz malile, albanian vice-minister of foreign affairs, and kostaq cifligu, director of the protocol department of the foreign ministry.

diplomatic envoys of various countries to albania were present at the airport.

staff members of the chinese embassy here were also present.

a farewell reception was given by the chinese ambassador on may 25.

CHINA AND ALGERIA

Chinese and Algerian Swimmers Hold First Competition

(NCNA-English Algiers, May 27, 1976)

the chinese swimming and diving team held its first friendly competition with swimmers of the general union of algerian workers here this evening. a chinese man diver and a woman diver gave diving demonstrations.

among the about 1,000 spectators were algerian minister of state for transport rabah bitat, deputy director of the sports department of the ministry of youth and sports sekkal.

chinese ambassador to algeria chou po-ping also watched the competition and demonstrations.

swimmers of the two countries competed in eight items including the breast stroke, butterfly stroke, freestyle and backstroke.

chinese woman swimmer hu hua and man swimmer wang lin set two national records.

the chinese team arrived here on may 23 for a friendly visit at the invitation of the general union of algerian workers.

yesterday, it visited tizi-ouzou in east algeria and gave a joint demonstration with local swimmers.

CHINA AND AUSTRALIA

Australian Tennis Team Plays Friendly Matches in Peking

(NCNA-English Peking, May 29, 1976)

the australian tennis team played friendly matches at the peking indoor stadium this afternoon with the chinese team before enthusiastic spectators.

chao cheng-hung, president of the all-china sports federation, and mou tse-yun and chu tse, leading members of the organizations concerned, watched the matches and met with n.a. fraser, leader of the guest team, before the contests began.

australian ambassador to china s.a. fitzgerald and his wife were present.

the tennis players of the two countries today played two matches of men's singles, two women's singles, one men's doubles and one women's doubles. k.r. rosewall and m.j. anderson, two fine veteran players of the guest team, won from china's kao hung-yun and wang fu-chang 2:0 in men's singles. they also defeated wang liang-tso and ku ming-hua 2:1 in men's doubles.

the two promising australian junior players, m.a. pejkovick and k.m. pratt, engaged chinese players kuo han-chin and li hsiu-lien in keenly-contested matches in women's singles. they lost to the players of the host team 0:2 and 1:2 respectively. in women's doubles, china's kuo han-chin and yu li-chiao beat the australian pair 2:1.

the australian team is scheduled to play two more matches here.

CHINA AND AUSTRIA

Chinese Ambassador to Austria Gives Reception

(NCNA-English Vienna, May 29, 1976)

yu pei-wen, chinese ambassador to the republic of austria, yesterday gave a reception here to celebrate the fifth anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between the people's republic of china and the republic of austria.

erich bielka karltreu, austrian foreign minister, attended the reception. in their toasts, yu pei-wen and erich bielka karltreu both wished the friendship between the two countries further development.

present on the occasion also were rudolf sallinger, president of the federal economic chamber; mock, vice-chairman of the austrian people's party; karl blecha, secretary of the central committee of the socialist party of austria; heinrich haymerle, secretary-general of the foreign ministry; herbert hunger, president of the austrian academy of sciences; members of parliament, high military officials and friendly personages.

CHINA AND BURMA

Burmese Track and Field Team Visits Shanghai

(NCNA-English Shanghai, May 29, 1976)

the burmese track and field team led by kyee myint ended its visit here and left for tsinan by train this afternoon.

the guest team and the shanghai track and field team held a friendly contest at hungko stadium yesterday afternoon. chang chen-ya, standing committee member of the shanghai municipal revolutionary committee, yeh po-shun, leading member of the shanghai branch of the all-china sports federation, watched the contest together with over 10,000 spectators.

the burmese track and field team arrived in peking on may 25 on a friendly visit to china. it came to shanghai on may 26, and the shanghai athletic association gave a banquet in its honour in the evening. the team visited the shanghai industrial exhibition and the hungchiao people's commune, and went boating on the whangpoo river.

CHINA AND EGYPT

Chinese Government Trade Delegation Leaves for Egypt

(NCNA-English Peking, May 28, 1976)

a chinese government trade delegation led by chen chieh, vice-minister of foreign trade, left here today for egypt to conclude china-egypt trade protocol for 1976 and pay a friendly visit.

the delegation was seen off at the airport by chou hua-min, vice-minister of foreign trade.

present was aly morsi aly, commercial counsellor of the egyptian embassy in peking.

CHINA AND FINLAND

Finland-China Society Celebrates Founding Anniversary

(NCNA-English Helsinki, May 29, 1976)

the finland-china society held a meeting here yesterday to celebrate the 25th anniversary of its founding.

urho kahonen, chairman of the society, and v.j. sukselainen, member of the council of the society and former speaker of parliament, spoke at the meeting. they reviewed the achievements scored in the development and strengthening of the friendship and mutual understanding between finland and china and between the two peoples as well as in the promotion of friendly contacts between the two countries in the 25 years since the founding of the society. they pointed out with satisfaction that the society's membership has been steadily on the increase since its founding and now exceeds 10,000. they also expressed elation over the successes and victories gained by the chinese people in various fields on the basis of self-reliance. they wished the chinese people greater successes in the years to come.

among the more than 300 people present at the celebration meeting were kaarlo pitsirki, governor of the uusimaa province of finland, former prime minister keijo liinamaa, representatives of the ministry of education and the branches of the society in various places, as well as friendly personages.

chen tieh, counsellor of the chinese embassy here, was present and spoke at the meeting.

at the meeting, finnish friends recited "reascending chingkangshan -- to the tune of shui tiao keh tou" and other poems by chairman mao, and sang finnish and chinese songs.

CHINA AND JAPAN

Japanese Mitsui Trust and Banking Co. Ltd. Delegation Leaves Peking for Shanghai

(NCNA-English Peking, May 29, 1976)

the delegation of the mitsui trust and banking co. ltd. of japan led by senkichi shono, president of the trust and banking co. ltd., left peking today on a visit to shanghai.

the delegation arrived in china on may 24 as guests of the bank of china. pu ming, vice-chairman of the board of directors of the bank of china, met and feted the japanese guests in peking. wang yao-ting, chairman of the china council for the promotion of international trade, and wang yun-sheng, vice-president of the china-japan friendship association, met them on different occasions.

Peking Opera Troupe of Shanghai Visits Fukuoka City of Japan

(NCNA-English Tokyo, May 29, 1976)

the peking opera troupe of shanghai visited fukuoka on may 27 and 28, and presented revolutionary modern peking operas "taking tiger mountain by strategy", "trial of chair", "chin chiang ferry", "pan shih wan", and selections from "taking tiger mountain by strategy" to the warm welcome of more than 4,000 spectators.

japanese friends and patriotic overseas chinese came from kagoshima, kumamoto, miyazaki, saga and some other adjacent cities to see the performances.

car driver koga accompanied his 69-year-old mother to watch the performance. praising the revolutionary modern peking opera for successfully presenting heroic images of the chinese people, the old woman said: "i watch the revolutionary play as if i have seen the revolutionary people." tyre worker tanaka said after watching the play "taking tiger mountain by strategy": "the play gives prominence to the heroic figures, and is heart-stirring."

a woman from the chikugo island said with emotion: "the revolutionary modern peking opera is inspiring the revolutionary spirit of the people and encouraging them to advance. its performance in japan will invoke a big repercussion in the cultural and theatrical fields."

watching the performances were mayor of fukuoka city kazuma shindo, director general of the fukuoka headquarters of the japan-china friendship association (orthodox) kasshihara fumiji and some other leading members of various circles.

the fukuoka band of the japanese democratic music association played the chinese revolutionary song "i love peking tienanmen" last night at the lounge of the theatre to congratulate the chinese troupe on a successful performance.

during its stay in the city of fukuoka, vice-governor of the fukuoka prefecture odabe and mayor kazuma shindo received and feted the leader and deputy leaders and some members of the chinese troupe.

Japanese Youth Delegation for Japan-China Friendship Feted in Peking

(NCNA-English Peking, May 29, 1976)

lin li-yun, council member of the china-japan friendship association, hosted a banquet today in honour of the japanese youth delegation for japan-china friendship led by yashiteru koyanagi.

the delegation arrived in peking yesterday as guests of the china-japan friendship association.

present at the banquet were leading members of organizations concerned chia hsueh-chien and ha hung-hsing and youth representatives from various circles in the chinese capital.

CHINA AND MALI

Chinese Vice Premier Meets Malian Delegation
of National Union of Laborers

(NCNA-English Peking, May 29, 1976)

chinese vice-premier wu kuei-hsien this afternoon met and had a cordial and friendly conversation with the delegation of national union of labourers from mali led by seydou diallo, general secretary of the union.

malian ambassador to china sinaly thera attended the meeting.

present on the occasion were chang hsiang-shan, deputy head of the international liaison department of the central committee of the communist party of china, and leading members of departments concerned.

CHINA AND MONGOLIA

Mongolian Ambassador to China Leaves for Home

(NCNA-English Peking, May 28, 1976)

s. sosorbaram, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the mongolian people's republic to china, left here for home today at the end of his term of office.

CHINA AND NEPAL

Vice Premier Chen Hsi-lien Meets Nepalese Field Marshal Nir Shumsher J.B. Rana

(NCNA-English Peking, May 28, 1976)

vice-premier chen hsi-lien met and had a cordial and friendly conversation here this afternoon with nepalese field marshal nir shumsher j.b. rana and his party.

kshatra bickram rana, nepalese ambassador to china, was present on the occasion.

present were yang chi, vice-president of the chinese people's association for friendship with foreign countries, and kan mai, deputy director of the foreign affairs bureau under the ministry of national defence.

Nepalese Field Marshal Feted in Peking

(NCNA-English Peking, May 28, 1976)

yang chi, vice-president of the chinese people's association for friendship with foreign countries, this evening met and feted nepalese field marshal nir shumsher j.b. rana and his party. they had a cordial and friendly talk.

kan mai, deputy director of the foreign affairs bureau of the ministry of national defence, was present.

present were nepalese ambassador to china kshatra bickram rana and his wife.

field marshal nir shumsher j.b. rana and his party arrived in peking yesterday at the invitation of the chinese people's association for friendship with foreign countries.

CHINA AND PAKISTAN

Premier Hua Kuo-feng and Prime Minister Bhutto Continue Talks

(NCNA-English Peking, May 29, 1976)

chinese premier hua kuo-feng continued talks here this afternoon with prime minister of the islamic republic of pakistan zulfikar ali bhutto.

Pakistan Prime Minister and Begum Bhutto Give Return Banquet in Peking

(NCNA-English Peking, May 29, 1976)

zulfikar ali bhutto, prime minister of the islamic republic of pakistan, and begum bhutto gave a grand return banquet at the great hall of the people here this evening.

among the guests were premier hua kuo-feng, vice-premier li hsien-nien, foreign minister chiao kuan-hua, minister of foreign trade li chiang, minister of culture yu hui-yung and minister of public health liu hsiang-ping.

chinese and pakistan national flags were hung side by side at the banquet hall.

both prime minister bhutto and premier hua kuo-feng spoke at the banquet which was permeated with a warm atmosphere of friendship.

prime minister bhutto said in his speech: "during my stay in peking, i have had the honour of being received by chairman mao tsetung, the great and respected leader of the chinese people. as always, i have benefited immensely from his wisdom."

speaking on the relations among countries of south asia, prime minister bhutto reiterated that south asian countries should exclude outside interference, resolve their differences through consultations on an equal footing and live in friendship in accordance with the five principles of peaceful co-existence.

on the jammu and kashmir question, prime minister bhutto said, it is incumbent on both pakistan and india "to accept the existence of the dispute and to acknowledge the necessity of its settlement on the

basis of self-determination through negotiations on an equal footing."

he said: "i should like to take this opportunity to thank the people's republic of china for its firm support to the pakistan proposal for the establishment of a nuclear weapon-free zone in south asia. china's positive attitude towards the deep concern of non-nuclear weapon states over the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons has evoked wide approbation. we would hope that other countries concerned would be more appreciative than hitherto of the need to assure the security of non-nuclear states against the nuclear menace."

prime minister bhutto said: "pakistan has always supported the palestinian national liberation struggle and total withdrawal by israel of all the occupied arab territories including jerusalem. the national rights of the palestinian people must be restored."

prime minister bhutto expressed gratification over the victories won in the national liberation movements in south africa. he pointed out: "the days of the colonial and racist regimes in these territories are numbered."

he said: "mr. prime minister, at your banquet, three days ago, you spoke with conviction of the indestructibility of the friendship between china and pakistan. we return to our country fortified in spirit and strengthened in resolve to defend our independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity against the forces of imperialism, expansionism and hegemonism. we go back to our country with renewed faith in sino-pakistan friendship and solidarity which has withstood strains and weathered storms in the past."

speaking on the significance of his present visit to china, prime minister bhutto said that this visit would mark a new milestone in the relations between pakistan and china and would lead to an even more active phase in their mutual cooperation.

in reply, premier hua kuo-feng said: "short as it is, the current visit to china by his excellency prime minister bhutto has achieved fully satisfactory results. our great leader chairman mao tsetung met his excellency prime minister bhutto, and they had a cordial and friendly conversation. leaders of the two countries had a sincere and friendly exchange of views on the international situation, the strengthening of the relations between the two countries and issues of common concern, thus further deepening our mutual understanding and confidence." "this visit of his excellency the prime minister has made a positive contribution to enhancing the friendship between the peoples of china and pakistan and the friendly relations and cooperation between the two countries," he added.

premier hua kuo-feng said: "prime minister bhutto and the other pakistan friends have kept warmly praising china's support and assistance to pakistan. this is a great encouragement to us. we have always held that it is as it ought to be that the third world countries support and assist each other and that they should strengthen their unity. we consider it our bounden internationalist duty to support and assist pakistan in her just cause. as china is also a developing country, our aid is limited. with the development of chinese revolution and construction, we hope to make more contributions to the people of the world." he continued: "over the years, the government and people of pakistan have also given us great support and help in various fields. i would like to take this opportunity to express once again our heartfelt thanks to the government and people of pakistan. sino-pakistan friendship is based on principles and has a great vitality. we are sure that, through the joint efforts of our two governments and peoples, the traditional friendship of the peoples of china and pakistan and the friendly relations and cooperation between our two countries will grow in strength and develop continuously."

premier hua kuo-feng reaffirmed: "the chinese government and people resolutely support the pakistan government and people in their just struggle in defence of national independence and state sovereignty, and resolutely support the people of jammu and kashmir in their just struggle for the right of self-determination."

in conclusion, premier hua kuo-feng requested prime minister and begum bhutto, on their return, to convey to the pakistan people the chinese people's profound friendship and good wishes.

after their speeches, the band struck up the national anthems of china and pakistan.

present at the banquet were: members of the standing committee of the national people's congress yen chi-tzu, yang po-lan and li chu-kuei; leading members of government departments, departments of the chinese people's liberation army and the peking municipal revolutionary committee han nien-lung, chang tsai-chien, ma ning, chen mu-hua, hao chung-shih, sun hsiao-feng, pan chi, han kuo-chung, hsueh yu-shan, yin chung-wei, liu tsun-hsin, liu chung-yang, lin chia-mei, hsieh li-fu, tung lin, an kang, ting kuo-yu, fu yu-fang, chang hsueh-chun, yang chi and chang chieh; chinese ambassador to pakistan lu wei-chao; and diplomatic envoys of various countries to china.

prime minister bhutto's entourage, pakistan ambassador to china mumtaz ali alvie, mrs. ali alvie and other pakistan friends in peking were also present.

this morning, begum bhutto visited a dance school here.

Prime Minister Bhutto's Speech

(NCNA-English Peking, May 29, 1976)

following is the full text of pakistan prime minister zulfikar ali bhutto's speech at the banquet he gave here this evening:

your excellency, mr. prime minister,
distinguished chinese friends,
excellencies,
ladies and gentlemen,

i thank you, mr. prime minister, and distinguished guests for honouring us with your presence this evening.

it is a privilege and pleasure for me to be in your great country once again. during my stay in peking, i have had the honour of being received by chairman mao tsetung, the great and respected leader of the chinese people. as always, i have benefited immensely from his wisdom. and i was deeply moved by his concern for the well-being of the people of pakistan and his keen interest in maintaining the closest relations between our two countries. i should like to express, once again, our gratitude to him and through him to the chinese people for their constant solidarity with pakistan.

mr. prime minister, i have also had the benefit and the opportunity of having a valuable dialogue with you. our talks covered a wide-range of subjects, including the international situation, developments in our region and a number of questions of bilateral concern to china and pakistan. the understandings reached reflect the mutual confidence and the sincere friendship existing between our two countries. i am confident that this visit will mark a new milestone in our relations and will lead to an even more active phase in our mutual cooperation.

your excellency, i would like to thank you for your appreciation, in your banquet statement three days ago, of the recent steps taken by pakistan towards normalising its relations with other countries of south asia. in particular, i welcome your expression of the hope that south asian countries will exclude outside interference, resolve their differences through consultations on an equal footing and live in friendship in accordance with the five principles of peaceful co-existence.

with the steps that we have recently taken towards completing the process of normalisation and in the reestablishment of diplomatic relations, pakistan has been able to bring its relationship with india to the level that existed before the war of 1965 over jammu and kashmir. let me assure you that we, for our part are willing to advance from the stage of normalisation

to peaceful coexistence in accordance with the five well known principles pertaining to inter-state relations. clearly, however, this relationship can be achieved only after a settlement of the jammu and kashmir dispute in accordance with the united nations resolutions which had been accepted by both india and pakistan. for it must be clearly understood by all concerned what normalisation means in scope and content. i am sure you will agree with me that normalisation does not mean that one side must abandon its traditional support to the right of self-determination of the people of jammu and kashmir, that it resile from the basic principles of its foreign policy or that it compromise its sovereignty and political independence. normalisation means acceptance by both sides of the principle of reciprocity and admission of realities. hence, the path of normalisation is a two way street. it is equally incumbent on the other side to accept the existence of the dispute and to acknowledge the necessity of its settlement on the basis of self-determination through negotiations on an equal footing.

the pattern of unilateral gestures such as pakistan's offer to withdraw its complaint pending with the icao in order to restart the process of normalisation, cannot be applied where the sovereign rights of a people and fundamental principles of foreign policy are at stake.

i should like to take this opportunity to thank the people's republic of china for its firm support to the pakistan proposal for the establishment of a nuclear weapon-free zone in south asia. china's positive attitude towards the deep concern of non-nuclear weapon states over the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons has evoked wide approbation. we would hope that other countries concerned would be more appreciative than hitherto of the need to assure the security of non-nuclear states against the nuclear menace.

turning to the international situation, i feel constrained to advert to the present scene in the middle east, the struggle for national liberation in southern africa and the economic plight of the majority of the countries of the third world.

in regard to the middle east situation, we cannot but be concerned over israel's continuing illegal occupation of arab territories. its policy of altering their demographic composition is fraught with the peril of another conflict. the attempts to establish jewish settlements in occupied arab territories constitute a flagrant violation of un resolutions and of the fourth geneva convention relating to protection of civilian populations. who can rightly claim today that israel only wants peace within secure frontiers? it is clearly trying to pre-empt a just settlement by devices aimed

at the permanent absorption of the arab territories it has seized by the use of force. pakistan has always supported the palestinian national liberation struggle and total withdrawal by israel of all the occupied arab territories including jerusalem. the national rights of the palestinian people must be restored. this includes the establishment of an independent state of palestine.

in southern africa, it is indeed a matter of gratification that the accession to independence of mozambique, angola and the portuguese colonies has given a great impetus to the nationalist movements in rhodesia and namibia and to the struggle against apartheid in azania. the days of the colonial and racist regimes in these territories are numbered. although they have been abandoned and isolated by the world and they are besieged by the liberation movements, they still remain blind to the writing on the wall. unless they can persuade themselves to liquidate their illegal minority regimes even at this eleventh hour, they cannot escape the deluge.

it is certainly not a matter of surprise to me that the fourth unctad conference should be deadlock on the central question in regard to changing the present intolerable status quo in the economic relations between the industrialised and the developing countries. the nairobi conference has still to persuade the rich countries to be forthcoming on the central issues such as stabilisation of commodity prices, relief to the developing countries from the crippling burden of debts and transference of technology. throughout the year, the attitude of the countries of the first and second world towards the developing countries of the third has been hard and unyielding. so far, it remains essentially unchanged despite the pious declarations and plans of action issued from the forums of the united nations general assembly and other international conferences about evolving a new international economic order. in view of the situation, pakistan and the democratic people's republic of korea has taken a just and joint stand in their joint communique signed at pyongyang on may 26 on this subject. the communique calls for convening a conference of the developing countries of asia, africa and latin america, at the highest level, in order to mobilise the full force of the peoples of the third world behind their common struggle for liberation from international economic oppression and exploitation.

the call from pyongyang is quite clear. it is a call for convening a conference of all countries of the third world, whether non-aligned or aligned. it is a call for a conference, in the spirit of bandung, of all the developing countries regardless of their social systems or stages of economic development. it contemplates no exclusions or preferences among the developing nations.

its intent and purpose is to give a massive demonstration of the solidarity of the hungry, the impoverished and the historically exploited nations in their demand for the dismantling of the present colonial and imperialist economic order and its replacement by a just system of international economic relations.

my dear friends, the people of pakistan have profound respect for the chinese people. we have the highest admiration for the spectacular progress made by china in all fields and for the assurance with which it is poised to confront the challenges of the future. we deeply appreciate the many-sided assistance china has extended to pakistan. china's help has been most invaluable. for it has served to enhance our self-reliance. this is the lesson we draw from the arduous experience and historic example of the great chinese people.

mr. prime minister, at your banquet, three days ago, you spoke with conviction of the indestructibility of the friendship between china and pakistan. we return to our country fortified in spirit and strengthened in resolve to defend our independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity against the forces of imperialism, expansionism and hegemonism. we go back to our country with renewed faith in sino-pakistan friendship and solidarity which has withstood strains and weathered storms in the past. we are confident that this friendship and this solidarity will endure whatever vicissitudes or inclemencies of international political climate that future events may bring about. two decades of our close relations with the people's republic of china indicates the position of pakistan that this relationship between two asian neighbours is of positive character and not directed against any other country.

excellency, tomorrow we leave your great country to return to our motherland. the thought which will be upper most in our mind would be that pakistan and china have renewed their pledge to support each other in defence of high principles of international conduct.

before concluding, i would like to thank your excellency once again for the generous hospitality and solicitous care extended to us during our stay in your historic city.

ladies and gentlemen, dear friends

it gives me great pleasure to invite you to raise your glasses in honour of the great leader of the chinese people, chairman mao tsetung. we wish him health and long life.

to the health of his excellency premier hua kuo-feng,

to the health of other chinese distinguished friends,

to the health of the heads of diplomatic missions and their wives present here,

to the prosperity and progress of the great chinese people, and

to the ever lasting friendship between the peoples of china and pakistan.

Premier Hua Kuo-feng's Speech

(NCNA-English Peking, May 29, 1976)

following is the full text of premier hua kuo-feng's speech at the banquet given here this evening by pakistan prime minister zulfikar ali bhutto:

your excellency respected prime minister and begum bhutto,
distinguished guests from pakistan,
friends and comrades,

tonight, we are very glad to attend this grand banquet given by his excellency prime minister and begum bhutto upon their invitation, and to have the opportunity to gather joyously once again with our pakistan friends. we wish to express our deep thanks to his excellency the prime minister for the warm and friendly speech he has just made.

short as it is, the current visit to china by his excellency prime minister bhutto has achieved fully satisfactory results. our great leader chairman mao tsetung met his excellency prime minister bhutto, and they had a cordial and friendly conversation. leaders of the two countries had a sincere and friendly exchange of views on the international situation, the strengthening of the relations between the two countries and issues of common concern, thus further deepening our mutual understanding and confidence. during his excellency prime minister bhutto's visit, an agreement on scientific and technical cooperation between the government of the people's republic of china and the government of the islamic republic of pakistan and a protocol to the agreement on economic and technical cooperation will be signed. this visit of his excellency the prime minister has made a positive contribution to enhancing the friendship between the peoples of china and pakistan and the friendly relations and cooperation between the two countries.

prime minister bhutto and the other pakistan friends have kept warmly praising china's support and assistance to pakistan. this is a great encouragement to us. we have always held that it is as it ought to be that the third world countries support and assist each other and that they should strengthen their unity. we consider it our bounden internationalist duty to support and assist pakistan in her just cause. as china is also a developing country, our aid is limited. with the development of chinese revolution and construction, we hope to make more contributions to the people of the world. over the years, the government and people of pakistan have also given us great support and help in various fields. i would like to take this opportunity to express once again our heartfelt thanks to the government and people of pakistan. sino-pakistan friendship is based on principles and has a great vitality. we are sure that, through the joint efforts of our two governments and peoples, the traditional friendship of the peoples of china and pakistan and the friendly relations and cooperation between our two countries will grow in strength and develop continuously. the chinese government and people resolutely support the pakistan government and people in their just struggle in defence of national independence and state sovereignty, and resolutely support the people of jammu and kashmir in their just struggle for the right of self-determination.

prime minister and begum bhutto will soon conclude their visit in china. we request our distinguished guests, on your return, to convey to your people the chinese people's profound friendship and good wishes.

now i propose a toast,

to the continuous growth of the friendship between the chinese and pakistan peoples and the friendly relations and cooperation between our two countries,

to the prosperity of the islamic republic of pakistan and the well-being of her people,

to the health of his excellency president fazal elahi chaudhry,

to the health of his excellency prime minister and begum zulfikar ali bhutto,

to the health of the other distinguished guests from pakistan present,

to the health of the heads of diplomatic missions and their wives present, and

to the health of all friends and comrades present here excl.

CHINA AND PHILIPPINES

Chinese Wushu Delegation Continues Visit
in Philippines

(NCNA-English Manila, May 28, 1976)

the chinese wushu delegation arrived in the port city of davao today from naga, capital of camarines sur province.

during its stay in naga, the delegation gave two performances to more than 10,000 spectators. among those watching the performances were felix fuentabella, governor of camarines sur province; hose lazo, commander of the provincial constabulary command; and vicente c. sibulop, mayor of naga.

mayor sibulop gave a dinner in honour of the chinese delegation on may 24.

CHINA AND ROMANIA

The Chinese People's Liberation Army Song and
Dance Ensemble Leaves Peking for Romania

(NCNA-English Peking, May 28, 1976)

the chinese people's liberation army song and dance ensemble left peking today for a performance tour of romania at the invitation of the ministry of national defence of the socialist republic of romania. the delegation is headed by cheng hsi-wen, leader and political commissar, tien tsun-chou, deputy political commissar, and tang chiang and ma yu-tao, deputy leaders.

seeing the ensemble off at the airport were ho cheng-wen, deputy chief of general staff, huang yu-kun, deputy director of the general political department, of the chinese people's liberation army, wu tai, deputy political commissar of the p.l.a. peking units, and representatives of literary and art workers of the p.l.a. three services.

also present were ion dorobantu, minister-counsellor, and ioan vasilescu, deputy military attache, of the romanian embassy in peking.

Chinese PLA Song and Dance Ensemble Arrives in Bucharest

(NCNA-English Bucharest, May 28, 1976)

the chinese people's liberation army song and dance ensemble arrived here today for a friendly performance tour in romania at the invitation of the romanian ministry of national defence.

leader and political commissar of the ensemble is cheng hsi-wen, deputy director of the political department of the p.l.a. peking units, deputy political commissar is tien tsun-chou and deputy leaders are tang chiang and ma yu-tao.

the chinese ensemble was greeted at the airport by major general victor voichita, deputy secretary of the supreme political council of the romanian army and head of its department for propaganda and culture; major general ion turcu, leading member of the bucharest garrison; major general dinu stelian, head of the "donea" art ensemble of the romanian army; as well as representatives of the romanian ministry of foreign affairs and of other departments concerned.

chinese ambassador to romania li ting-chuan and military attache of the chinese embassy li yung-chih were also present.

an atmosphere of friendship between the armies and peoples of romania and china prevailed at the airport. members of the "doena" art ensemble and militarymen of all services totalling over 300 lined up at the airport to give a rousing welcome to the chinese ensemble. they shouted in chinese: "welcome exclamation" "how do you do exclamation"

speaking at the airport on behalf of the romanian ministry of national defence, major general voichita extended warm welcome to the chinese ensemble. leader of the ensemble cheng hsi-wen said in reply that the chinese p.l.a. song and dance ensemble is here ready to learn from the fraternal romanian people and army earnestly and to make contributions through the performance tour to the promotion of the friendship between the peoples and armies of the two countries.

CHINA AND SUDAN

Sudanese Minister Fetes Chinese Guests

(NCNA-English Khartoum, May 28, 1976)

sudanese minister for the presidency of the republic abdulla el hassan gave a dinner party this evening at the garden of the government guest house here in honour of the chinese government delegation with minister of economic relations with foreign countries fang yi as leader and chinese ambassador to sudan chang yueh as deputy leader, and the chinese art troupe with yin cheng-chung as leader and shen shen as deputy leader.

all members of the delegation and the troupe attended the party.

present on the occasion were assistant general secretary for information and diplomacy ahmed abdel halim and assistant general secretary omar el hag musa, of the sudanese socialist union, minister of industry badr el din mohamed sulieman, minister of construction and public works mustafa osman hassan, minister of commerce and supply haroun el awad, minister of public service and administrative reform abdel rahman abdulla, minister of irrigation and hydro-electric power sagiroun el zein sagiroun, some ministers of state, and chief of staff of the sudanese people's armed forces lt. general bashir mohamed ali.

the party proceeded in a cordial and friendly atmosphere.

CHINA AND SURINAM

Joint Communique on Establishment of Diplomatic Relations between China and Surinam

(NCNA-English Peking, May 30, 1976)

following is the full text of the "joint communique on the establishment of diplomatic relations between the people's republic of china and the republic of surinam":

the government of the people's republic of china and the government of the republic of suriram, through their specially appointed representatives meeting in new york, have held friendly consultations concerning relations between the two governments and the two peoples.

both governments confirm their adherence to the principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, of non-interference in the internal affairs of each other, of equality and of mutual benefit, and consider that the development of relations between the two countries on the basis of these principles will be to the mutual advantage of the two countries and of their peoples.

the government of the republic of surinam recognizes the government of the people's republic of china as the sole legal government of china.

accordingly, the government of the people's republic of china and the government of the republic of surinam, in conformity with their common desire to develop friendly relations and cooperation between their two countries, have decided to establish diplomatic relations at the ambassadorial level as from this date.

the two governments have agreed mutually to provide all necessary assistance for the establishment and performance of the functions of the embassies in their respective capitals on the basis of equality, mutual benefit and friendly consultations, and in accordance with international practice.

lai ya-li ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary, acting permanent repre- sentative of the people's republic of china to the united nations	henricus a.f. heidweiller ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary, permanent representative of the republic of surinam to the united nations

new york, may 28, 1976

Jen-min Jih-pao Greets Establishment of Diplomatic Relations between China and Surinam

(NCNA-English Peking, May 30. 1976)

the "people's daily" in an editorial today warmly hailed the establishment of diplomatic relations between china and surinam. the editorial reads:

the chinese government and the government of the republic of surinam, through friendly consultations, have decided to establish diplomatic relations at ambassadorial level. this decision fully conforms to

the common interests and aspirations of the two peoples. we express warm congratulations on this event.

suriname had been ruthlessly dominated and oppressed by colonialism and imperialism for a long time in the past. the valiant suriname people had waged a sustained struggle to gain national independence. as a result, formal independence was proclaimed on november 25, 1975. the suriname government has made achievements in its effort to safeguard state sovereignty, defend economic rights and interests, and develop the national economy, notably agricultural production. suriname persists in anti-imperialism and anti-colonialism, supports national liberation movements elsewhere, and is actively developing relations of friendship and cooperation with other third world countries. its accomplishments in internal and foreign affairs have won praises from other countries and peoples of the third world.

it is our consistent stand that all states should be equal irrespective of their size and we are firmly opposed to big power hegemonism and power politics whereby the big bullies the small, the strong overbears the weak and the rich rides on the back of the poor. it is on the basis of this principle that china has established relations of friendship and cooperation with many latin american countries.

today the tides of anti-imperialism and anti-hegemonism in latin america are surging ahead and the situation there is getting better and better still. the struggle of latin american countries in defence of national independence, 200-mile maritime rights and economic rights and interests has been mounting steadily. the recent years in particular have witnessed a head-on fight waged by latin american countries and their people against superpower hegemonism in the sphere of international economic relations. in latin america the soviet social-imperialists have been energetically selling their putrid "disarmament" and "detente" for the purpose of diverting the region from its general trend of fighting against imperialism and hegemonism. this vicious effort, however, has been frequently exposed and hit snags. the tidal wave of anti-hegemonic struggle of latin america and the third world as a whole can be arrested by nobody.

china is a developing socialist country. china and suriname belong to the same third world. our two peoples had been in similar situations in the past and have the common task of fighting against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism today. with the establishment of diplomatic relations between china and suriname, we have made a new friend in latin america and we are glad for it. it is our belief that the relations of friendship and cooperation between the two countries and the friendship between their peoples will be further promoted by their concerted effort.

CHINA AND SWEDEN

Chinese Government Trade Delegation Leaves Sweden for Home

(NCNA-English Stockholm, May 28, 1976)

the chinese government trade delegation left here for home today after concluding its visit to sweden.

during its stay in sweden, the delegation led by cheng to-pin, head of a bureau under the ministry of foreign trade, attended the fourth sino-swedish trade meeting and visited some cities and factories.

on may 25, swedish minister of commerce carl lidbom received delegation leader cheng to-pin and had a friendly conversation with him. chang fa-tien, charge d'affaires ad interim of the chinese embassy here, was present on the occasion. on the same day, envoy belfrage, president of the swedish export council, on behalf of the federation of swedish industries, the swedish export council and the federation of swedish wholesalers and importers, gave a luncheon in honour of the delegation. in the evening, charge d'affaires ad interim chang fa-tien gave a reception for the delegation's visit to sweden. present at the reception were bengt dennis, under-secretary of state of the swedish ministry of commerce, all members of the swedish side taking part in the trade meeting, and representatives of swedish industrial and commercial circles.

CHINA AND TURKEY

New Chinese Ambassador to Turkey Leaves Peking for Post

(NCNA-English Peking, May 29, 1976)

wei yung-ching, new ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the people's republic of china to the republic of turkey, left here for post by air yesterday.

CHINA AND VENEZUELA

Chinese Gymnasts Give Premiere in Venezuela

(NCNA-English Caracas, May 27, 1976)

the visiting chinese gymnastics team led by lu wen-chun gave its first exhibition in venezuela in the auditorium "el poliedro" here this evening.

5,000 spectators warmly applauded the chinese men and women gymnasts for the dozen items they performed.

among them were brigadier general camilo vethencourt rojas, president of the national sports institute (ind) of venezuela, victor ochoa, first vice-president of the venezuela-china friendship association, other venezuelan friends and wu teh-chih, vice-president of the chinese union of friendship. ling ching, chinese ambassador to venezuela, was also present.

the chinese gymnasts arrived here on may 23 for a friendship visit at the invitation of the ind. on the evening of may 24, the chinese ambassador gave a reception in connection with their tour.

CHINA AND WEST GERMANY

Ambassador Pauls Gives Reception in Celebration of Anniversary of Federal Republic of Germany

(NCNA-English Peking, May 28, 1976)

rolf friedemann pauls, ambassador of the federal republic of germany to china, and his wife gave a reception here this afternoon in celebration of the 27th anniversary of the federal republic of germany.

among the guests were minister of foreign trade li chiang, vice-foreign minister ma wen-po, vice-minister of petroleum and chemical industries sun hsiao-feng, vice-minister of communications ma yao-chi, deputy secretary-general of the chinese academy of sciences liu chung-yang, and deputy secretary-general of the peking municipal revolutionary committee chou jung-kuo.

diplomatic envoys of various countries to china were also present.

CHINA AND YEMEN (YAR)

Chinese Ambassador to Yemen Arab Republic Gives Reception for Chinese Medical Personnel

(NCNA-English Sanaa, May 27, 1976)

chinese ambassador to the yemen arab republic chao chin gave a reception yesterday evening in honour of the chinese medical personnel who will return home and those who have arrived here to take over their work.

yemeni minister of health abdel-malik mohamed abdel, under-secretary ahmed ali khedur, advisor of the health ministry, noted personages of the yemeni health circles and medical workers were present on invitation.

CHINA AND ZAIRE

Zairian President Receives Chinese Medical Team

(NCNA-English Kinshasa, May 27, 1976)

mobutu sese seko, president of the republic of zaire, received here today lo shih-chang, head of an home-going chinese medical team, and the team members as well as kao kai, head of a replacing team.

in his talks with the chinese friends, president mobutu highly praised the fruitful friendly cooperation between zaire and china.

present on the occasion were commissioner of state for public health ngwete kinkela and chinese ambassador to zaire kung ta-fei.

on may 25, the kintambo hospital and maternity hospital where the chinese medical team worked jointly held a farewell party for the chinese friends.

earlier, commissioner of state ngwete kinkela received the new team led by kao kai.

this evening, chinese ambassador kung ta-fei gave a reception for the departing team and the new arrivals. zairian commissioner of state for public health and other personalities of the zairian medical circles were present at the reception.

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* NATIONAL *
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REVOLUTION IN LITERATURE AND ART

Revolution in Literature and Art and Dictatorship of the Proletariat

by

the literary and art commentary unit of the Peking February 7 Locomotive and Rolling Stock Plant and the writing unit of Peking University and Tsinghua University

(Peking Jen-min Jih-pao, May 27, 1976)

The "Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art" published by the great leader Chairman Mao 34 years ago has indicated the orientation of and defined the line for the proletarian revolution in literature and art. As we study afresh this brilliant article by Chairman Mao at the time of celebrating with joy the 10th anniversary of the great proletarian cultural revolution, we more deeply feel that properly carrying out the proletarian revolution in literature and art is of tremendous significance toward consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and preventing capitalist restoration. For the sake of better fulfilling the great historic mission of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, we must go on deepening the criticism of Teng Hsiao-p'ing and win new victories in the revolution in literature and art along the orientation indicated by the "Talks."

I

Under the dictatorship of the proletariat, is it necessary for the proletariat to carry out the revolution in literature and art? This is an important question bearing on whether the proletariat can exercise all-round dictatorship in the domain of literature and art and whether the dictatorship of the proletariat can be consolidated.

Chairman Mao teaches us, "To overthrow a political power, it is always necessary first of all to create public opinion, to do work in the ideological sphere. This is true for the revolutionary class as well as for the counter-revolutionary class." As ideology, literature and art are important tools of class struggle for creating public opinion. For the sake of seizing and consolidating political power, the proletariat pays great attention to literature and art, and looks upon revolutionary literature and art as "an effective weapon of the revolution" and a part "indispensable" to the revolutionary cause as a whole. For the sake of subverting the dictatorship of the proletariat, the bourgeoisie also desperately grasps literature and art and makes every effort to turn the literary and art battlefront into a hotbed for restoring capitalism.

In the seventeen years before the great cultural revolution, didn't Liu Shao-ch'i and company desperately push the counter-revolutionary revisionist line in literature and art and enforce the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie in the domain of literature and art? Didn't Lin Piao also grasp the gun as well as the pen and take these two media as tools for overthrowing the proletariat and staging a counter-revolutionary coup d'etat? In vigorously whipping up the Right-deviation wind to reverse verdicts, didn't Teng Hsiao-p'ing also want to make every effort "to fight forthe ideological battlefront" in a vain attempt to occupy once again such a hereditary territory of the bourgeoisie as literature and art? During the counter-revolutionary political incident at T'ienanmen Square, didn't a handful of class enemies use reactionary poems as a counter-revolutionary means to confuse people? After harassing people with the pen in the van and with swords unsheathed, they promptly translated their aspirations for restoration into counter-revolutionary violence. The capitalist-roaders within the Party and a handful of class enemies in society made use of literature and art in this way to oppose the Party and socialism and to undermine the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The facts show that under the dictatorship of the proletariat there is always need for the revolution in literature and art. Hasn't the degeneration of the Soviet Union from socialism into social-imperialism played a so-called "thawing" role for reactionary literature and art? The failure of one's predecessor should serve as a lesson.

As early as in 1963, in light of the rule of Liu Shao-ch'i's counter-revolutionary revisionist black line in literature and art, Chairman Mao hit the nail on the head pointing out: "The social and economic base has changed, but the arts as part of the superstructure, which serve this base, still remain a serious problem. Hence we should proceed with investigation and study and attend to this matter in earnest." In 1964, he went further to sternly warn the capitalist-roaders within the Party in literary and art circles. He pointed out that under the control of the black line in literature and art, the departments of literature and art "have in recent years slid right down to the brink of revisionism. Unless they remold themselves in real earnest, at some future date they are bound to become groups like the Hungarian Petofi Club." Chairman Mao's instructions issued the battle order for the revolution in literature and art, and a proletarian revolution in literature and art exemplified by model revolutionary theatrical works commenced. This

life-and-death fight at close quarters between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie formed the prelude of the great proletarian cultural revolution, and the harbinger of the attack launched by capitalist-roaders within the Party. It was precisely from the cultural and educational spheres that the raging fire of the great proletarian cultural revolution was first enkindled. In the great cultural revolution, the revolution in literature and art also directly became an important aspect and component of the great cultural revolution. In close coordination with the great struggle of the proletariat and the revolutionary people for the destruction of the two bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao, it played an important combat role in the struggle to defend and develop the fruits of victory of the great cultural revolution and consolidate and strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The great victory of the great proletarian cultural revolution gave impetus to the deepening and development of the revolution in literature and art. The fruits of victory of the great proletarian cultural revolution enabled the literary and art front of China to bring about profound changes in orientation and line, in literary and art creation, in the building of contingents and in other aspects. The proletariat seized back immeasurable powers in literature and art from the hands of the capitalist-roaders within the Party, destroyed the rule of the counter-revolutionary revisionist line in literature and art, and began to exercise all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie in the domain of literature and art. The broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers and the revolutionary writers and artists joined forces to occupy this hereditary territory of the bourgeoisie--literature and art. They drove away the emperors and princes, generals and ministers, gifted scholars and beauties, demons and monsters from the literary and art stage, and the heroic image of the proletariat was allowed to occupy the center of the stage. The proletarian revolution in literature and art represented by model revolutionary theatrical works symbolically exhibited around this fundamental issue of seizing and consolidating political power the struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines in the different historical periods of new democratic revolution and socialist revolution in China, thus greatly inspiring the proletariat and the revolutionary people to wage unrelenting struggle for defending the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In the great struggle for consolidating the dictatorhsip of the proletariat and developing the socialist economic base, the proletarian revolution in literature and art has made immortal contributions. The revolution in literature and art is very good--this is the conclusion drawn by history.

II

An important problem in upholding the revolution in literature and art is the need to study the creative experience of model revolutionary theatrical works, take class struggle as the key link, strive to create works of literature and art that are closely coordinated with actual struggle and reflect the continuation of the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, and help the masses push the socialist revolution forward. The creation of literature and art must in particular lay emphasis on reflecting

the violent struggle carried out by the revolutionary people led by the proletariat against the capitalist-roaders within the Party.

The basic line of the Party tells us that socialist society is absolutely not "a jeweled palace in elfland's hills" free from class struggle, and that there is everywhere class struggle on the journey of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Teng Hsiao-p'ing opposes taking class struggle as the key link and nonsensically says that class contradictions are no longer clearly visible. These are entirely deceitful talks. Isn't every step forward in the socialist revolution still desperately resisted by the new and old bourgeoisie within the Party? The outbreak of the counter-revolutionary incident at the T'ienanmen Square has told us with great sharpness and vividness that class struggle not only has not died out but also will appear in the form of violent antagonism. Since there actually is class struggle in social life, how can literature and art as a tool of class struggle for reflecting social life not portray class struggle? It is for lulling the proletariat and the revolutionary people that the bourgeoisie and revisionism negate the need of literature and art to portray class struggle. The proletariat openly expounds that literary and art creation must take class struggle as the key link to consciously serve the consolidation of proletarian dictatorship.

In order to reflect the class struggle of the socialist period, revolutionary literature and art must emphatically reflect the proletariat's struggle against the capitalist-roaders within the Party. This is determined by the characteristics of class struggle of the socialist period. Chairman Mao most recently pointed out, "You are making the socialist revolution, and yet don't know where the bourgeoisie is. It is right in the Communist Party--those in power taking the capitalist road." In the period of socialist revolution, the target of the revolution is the bourgeoisie, and the main target is those in power taking the capitalist road within the Party.

The capitalist-roaders within the Party are the political representatives of the new and old bourgeoisie and the main force which conducts a test of strength with the proletariat in a vain attempt to restore capitalism in China. These chieftains of the revisionist line, such as Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-p'ing, controlled a very sizable part of Party and state powers, and as commanders of all reactionary forces opposed to the dictatorship of the proletariat, they were more strong-handed than the bourgeoisie outside the Party when they worked for restoration. Because the capitalist-roaders are inside the Party and they wave a red flag to oppose the red flag, this determines that the struggle is very complicated. "The capitalist-roaders are still on the capitalist road." This will for a long time be a phenomenon in the historical period of socialism. Revolutionary literature and art should warmly eulogize the heroic struggle waged by the proletariat against the capitalist-roaders, profoundly reveal the reactionary nature of the capitalist-roaders, reflect the complexity and protractedness of this struggle, and inspire the revolutionary people to consciously rise in struggle against the capitalist-roaders.

In the life-and-death struggle against the capitalist-roaders within the Party, the proletariat at all times plays the decisive role. From the

great cultural revolution to the Right-deviation wind to reverse verdicts, the heroic proletariat has led the broad masses of reovlutionary people to launch one attack after another against the capitalist-roaders and win one victory after another. In order to reflect the proletariat's struggle against the capitalist-roaders, revolutionary literature and art must study the creative experience of model revolutionary theatrical works and strive to mold the towering heroic image of the proletariat standing on the forefront of this great struggle. Only in this way can they profoundly reflect the guiding role of the proletariat and the revolutionary people as makers of history to push history forward, and reflect the law that the proletariat is bound to vanquish the bourgeoisie, socialism is bound to vanquish capitalism, and Marxism is bound to vanquish revisionism.

In order to reflect the proletariat's struggle against the capitalist-roaders, revolutionary literature and art must strive to reflect the great proletarian cultural revolution personally launched and led by Chairman Mao. The great cultural revolution is a great class struggle launched by the proletariat and the revolutionary people to attack the capitalist-roaders within the Party. The correct reflection of the proletariat's struggle against the capitalist-roaders is of tremendous practical significance toward consolidating and developing the great fruits of the great cultural revolution. At present, the struggle to criticize Teng Hsiao-p'ing and hit back at the Right-deviation wind to reverse verdicts is the continuation and deepening of the great cultural revolution. Revolutionary literature and art must employ diverse forms to take an active part in the battle to criticze Teng Hsiao-p'ing "so that our portrayal can bring greater assistance to the direct participants in the movement and the proletarian heroes in action on the spot, and give impetus to the development of the movement." (Lenin's "Days of Revolution," Collected Works of Lenin, Vol. VIII, p. 82)

The capitalist-roaders within the Party consistently oppose and obstruct the reflection of class struggle and the two-line struggle of the socialist period by literature and art. They are opposed to the reflection by literature and art of the proletariat's struggle against the bourgeoisie and especially the capitalist-roaders within the Party. Before Teng Hsiao-p'ing finished seeing Ch'un Miao, he left in displeasure and repeatedly denounced it as "ultra Left." This has vividly revealed the counter-revolutionary mentality of the capitalist-roaders who are afraid of and angry with revolutionary literature and art. This shows that the reflection of the proletariat's struggle against capitalist-roaders by revolutionary literature and art is a heavy blow to as well as an effective criticism of the capitalist-roaders in real life. The more the bourgeoisie is opposed to the portrayal of this struggle, the more the proletariat must portray it on a large scale so as to enable revolutionary literature and art to give full play to their militant role.

III

Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in literature and art, the serious implementation of the Party's policy of "letting a hundred flowers blossom" by the proletariat in the course of the revolution in literature and art has given great impetus to the prosperous development of socialist

literature and art. However, Teng Hsiao-p'ing called black white and maliciously attacked the model revolutionary theatrical works as "the blossoming of one flower." Under the instigation of Teng Hsiao-p'ing, the architects of absurd arguments in literary and art circles converged their attacks on the revolution in literature and art for "hampering" the blossoming of one hundred flowers. They clamored that this was "a fundamental issue that must be resolved at present" in literary and art circles. They even coerced other people into making representations on this question. For a time they adopted an overbearing attitude as though once they took over this slogan of "letting a hundred flowers blossom" they could knock down with one blow the revolution in literature and art. All revisionists invariably lift a rock only to drop it on their feet. In attacking the revolution in literature and art as "having hampered" the blossoming of one hundred flowers, Teng Hsiao-p'ing has precisely bared his reactionary stand for counter-attacking in revenge the revolution in literature and art and betraying the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Has the revolution in literature and art "hampered" the blossoming of one hundred flowers? No. Before the great cultural revolution, the revisionist black line in literature and art exercised dictatorship over us and refused to carry out the general and specific policies of the Party in literature and art. Liu Shao-ch'i, Teng Hsiao-p'ing and other capitalist-roaders within the Party unscrupulously distorted the policy of "letting one hundred flowers blossom" and allowed feudal, bourgeois and revisionist literature and art to spread freely. The great revolution in literature and art changed this situation. The model revolutionary theatrical works enabled the heroic image of workers, peasants and soldiers to occupy the literary and art stage and realize the earth-shaking great revolution in the history of literature and art. The process of creation of model revolutionary theatrical works itself vividly embodied "the possibility of free development of different forms and style in art." Spurred by model theatrical works, there appeared in socialist literary and art creation as a whole the excellent situation of prosperity and one hundred flowers in full bloom. Teng Hsiao-p'ing obviously had an ulterior object in view when he vilified that the revolution in literature and art hampered the blossoming of one hundred flowers.

Teng Hsiao-p'ing cast forth the revisionist program with "the three directives as the key link." Since he wantonly publicized the theory of the dying out of class struggle, he necessarily had to distort and emasculate the class content and revolutionary spirit of "letting a hundred flower blossom," and turn it into bourgeois liberalism. This man always advocated bourgeois liberalism and opposed the dictatorship of the proletariat. As early as before the great cultural revolution, he blustered that "we had exercised too much dictatorship in the past and can practice some relaxation from now on." This theory of "relaxation" from the political stage to the literary and art stage essentially sought to "release" all demons and monsters for overthrowing the dictatorship of the proletariat and restoring capitalism.

After the great cultural revolution, Teng Hsiao-p'ing still refused to repent. He altered the theory of "relaxation" as the theory of "one lone flower in bloom." Although the phraseology used was different, the design

was the same. "One lone flower in bloom" is not something unfamiliar to our ears. Hadn't counter-revolutionary Hu Feng attacked us for "identical public opinion" or "no public opinion"? In the eyes of Teng Hsiao-p'ing, the reflection of the proletariat's struggle against the bourgeoisie by literature and art is "one lone flower in bloom." Only a market for all the plays he likes, such as Three-Family Lane, Pressganging, Besieged City and plays about emperors and princes, generals and ministers, gifted scholars and beauties, that is, all the feudal, bourgeois and revisionist poisonous weeds means "one hundred flowers in bloom" to him. To permit only the bourgeoisie but not the proletariat to blossom, to let feudal, bourgeois and revisionist literature and art stage a comeback and to diligently create counter-revolutionary opinion for subverting the dictatorship of the proletariat--this is the essence of Teng Hsiao-p'ing theory of "one lone flower in bloom." The proletariat and the broad masses of the people will never be fooled by Teng Hsiao-p'ing!

Can we practice the least "relaxation" toward the poisonous weeds of the bourgeoisie? Toward the handful of reactionary men of letters who amused themselves with writing in the T'ienanmen Square counter-revolutionary incident, can we permit the reactionary poems and verses concocted by them "come into full bloom"? Absolutely not. Be it on the political stage or the literary and art stage, anyone who advocates "relaxation" of dictatorship over the bourgeoisie is the sworn opponent of the working class and the revolutionary people!

For the sake of developing socialist literature and art and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, the proletariat consistently advocates "letting a hundred flowers blossom" in literature and art. This is the steadfast class policy of the proletariat. "Letting a hundred flowers blossom" definitely does not mean writing off class struggle or abandoning the dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie. Quite the contrary, it is for more properly waging the struggle of the proletariat agianst the bourgeoisie in the ideological sphere and implementing the exercise of all-round dictatorship by the proletariat over the bourgeoisie. To implement the policy of "letting a hundred flowers blossom," it is necessary to take class struggle as the key link, learn to distinguish flagrant flowers from poisonous weeds under complicated conditions, use the correct methods to wage struggle against the poisonous weeds, and constantly develop socialist literature and art in the course of struggle.

Chairman Mao emphatically points out, "All mistaken ideas, all poisonous weeds, all monsters and demons should be criticized and can never be allowed to spread freely." For the sake of consolidating and strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat, we must "forbid all counter-revolutionaries to make use of freedom of speech to attain their counter-revolutionary aims." Only by constantly hoeing away the poisonous weeds can resplendent fragrant flowers come into full bloom. Writing off struggle against bourgeois literature and art also means writing off the blossoming of one hundred flowers in proletarian literature and art.

The capitalist-roaders are still on the capitalist road, and the revolutionaries must fight against them. "Without struggle, there is no progress." Teng Hsiao-p'ing's negation and attack of the revolution in

literature and art makes us further realize that for the sake of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, it is imperative to carry the proletarian revolution in literature and art through to the end. We must deepen our criticism of Teng Hsiao-p'ing, hit back at the Right-deviation wind to reverse verdicts, maintain the revolution in literature and art, keep on advancing along Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in literature and art, and make revolutionary literature and art play a greater role and reveal great power in the struggle to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat!

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WORKER-PEASANT CADRES

The Principle of Stressing the Selection of Cadres from Among the Workers and Peasants Brooks No Alteration

by

Yen Ch'ün (严群)

(Peking Kuang-ming Jih-pao, May 11, 1976)

When casting forth the revisionist program of "taking the three instructions as the key link," Teng Hsiao-p'ing, the arch unrepentant capitalist-roader within the Party, pushed at the same time an organizational line in the service of his revisionist political line. He sabotaged the three-in-one combination of the old, the middle-aged and the young, attacked the newborn forces, gave important positions to unrepentant capitalist-roaders and unreformed bourgeois intellectuals and frenziedly made organizational preparations for restoring capitalism. The counter-revolutionary political incident which took place recently at T'ienanmen Square has fully exposed the kind of people that made up the social base of the counter-revolutionary revisionist line pushed by Teng Hsiao-p'ing and enabled us to understand more thoroughly the extreme importance of settling accounts completely with his revisionist organizational line.

One important aspect of Teng Hsiao-p'ing's revisionist organizational line is his vigorous opposition to the selection of cadres from among the workers and peasants. He nonsensically said: "Reliance on the workers, peasants and soldiers is relative." "The general effect of promoting people directly from among the workers and peasants is not good" for they "basically have no experience" and "should all be sent to the basic level for steeling and remolding." The reason Teng Hsiao-p'ing so rabidly opposed the workers and peasants and the worker-peasant cadres is that the broad masses of workers and peasants and their fine representatives have persisted in continuing the revolution, and they constitute the greatest obstacle to his capitalist restoration. Therefore, he disseminated all kinds of reactionary fallacies and adopted all kinds of reactionary measures to knock down completely the large numbers of outstanding worker-peasant cadres emerging in the great cultural revolution.

I

Laying emphasis on the selection of cadres from among the workers and peasants is determined by the nature and task of our Party and our state, and is an important Marxist principle that must be upheld by the proletarian political party on the question of employment of people. Marxism holds that the working class is the representative of the new productive forces and is the greatest revolutionary class in the history of mankind.

Lenin pointed out: "The proletariat is the only class that is consistently revolutionary, the only class that can unite all the toilers and the exploited

in the struggle against the bourgeoisie, in completely displacing it." ("The State and Revolution," Selected Works of Lenin, Vol. III, p. 190) Chairman Mao said: "The fundamental revolutionary forces are the workers and peasants, and the class leading the revolution is the working class." "We must wholeheartedly rely on the working class."

Socialist revolution calls for the complete destruction of the bourgeoisie and all exploiting classes, the replacing of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie by the dictatorship of the proletariat, the use of socialism to vanquish capitalism, the ultimate realization of communism, and the making of the most thoroughgoing break with the traditional relations of ownership and traditional concepts. This most extensive, penetrating and thoroughgoing revolutionary struggle in the history of mankind is bound to encounter strong resistance from the bourgeoisie inside and outside the Party. In order to carry out this struggle victoriously and unremittingly strengthen and consolidate the exercise of all-round proletarian dictatorship over the bourgeoisie, it is necessary to resolutely and unswervingly rely on the working people and the poor and lower-middle peasants, the most reliable ally of the working class, so that leadership at various levels in the Party and the state will be firmly held in the hands of the Marxists and the masses of workers and peasants. Relying on the workers and peasants and laying emphasis on the selection of cadres from among the workers and peasants are not something dispensable to our proletarian political Party and to our state under the dictatorship of the proletariat, but something absolutely essential.

Teng Hsiao-p'ing said that "reliance on the workers, peasants and soldiers is relative." This means that we may rely on them or not rely on them. Actually Teng Hsiao-p'ing's so-called "reliance on the workers and peasants" is completely false. His real intention is to make an issue of the word "relative" to oppose the workers, peasants and soldiers. This theory of "relative reliance" of his is basically in contravention of Chairman Mao's teaching that "one of the basic principles of the Communist Party is to rely directly on the broad masses of revolutionary people." This has fully exposed his reactionary features in negating the workers and peasants in toto and excluding the worker-peasant cadres. This is a shameful betrayal of Marxism as well as a shameful betrayal of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Whether or not we persistently emphasize the selection of cadres from among the workers and peasants is an important hallmark of whether the dictatorship of the proletariat or the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie is carried out. In a capitalist country, political power is in the hands of the capitalists and the vassals retained by them. The broad masses of workers and peasants are completely relegated to the status of the exploited and the enslaved with no political rights at all. Thousands of outstanding men of talent are trampled upon, destroyed and discarded. However, in a socialist country under the dictatorship of the proletariat, the workers and peasants are the masters of the state, and the participation of the outstanding representatives of the working class and poor and lower-middle peasants in the management of Party and state affairs is a matter of course.

When summing up the valuable experience of the Paris Commune, Marx pointed out: The state power of the dictatorship of the proletariat must "turn military, administrative and political functions into rel workmen's functions, instead of the hidden attributes of a trained class." ("The Civil War in France, Selected Works of Marx and Engels, Vol. II, p. 415)

After the victory of the October Revolution, Lenin laid very strong emphasis on the selection of cadres from among the common workers and laboring peasantry for leadership work at various levels in the Party and the state. He pointed out that among the common workers, many were faithful to the interests of the laboring people and capable of taking up leadership work, and it was necessary to go deep into the midst of the working class and laboring peasantry to unearth new forces. It was necessary to show "full revolutionary enthusiasm" to "discover them, encourage them, support them and help them along." ("The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government," Collected Works of Lenin, Vol. XXVII, p. 240)

As early as during the period of the struggle in the Chingkang Mountains, Chairman Mao proposed that "the proportion of workers and poor peasants should also be increased" in leading organs of the Party at all levels. ("Struggle in the Chingkang Mountains") In the past few decades, our Party precisely followed the teachings of the revolutionary teachers in selecting and training large numbers of outstanding cadres from among the workers and the poor and lower-middle peasants, thus guaranteeing the victory of the revolutionary cause of the Party in various periods. Especially during the great cultural revolution, our Party further emphasized the principle of selecting outstanding elements from among the workers and poor and lower-middle peasants for various leadership posts and clearly put this principle into the documents of the 10th Party Congress and the 4th National People's Congress.

Assuming the posture of a bourgeois aristocrat, Teng Hsiao-p'ing found fault with the worker and peasant cadres in a thousand and one ways and threw all sorts of abuse against them. He slandered them for their "low cultural standard," for their "lack of know-how and enthusiasm" and for "occupying the latrine without emptying their bowels," and attacked them as good-for-nothing. His purpose in doing so was to knock them all down, and to bring back to power the unrepentant capitalist-roaders who wanted to settle accounts with the great cultural revolution and to reverse verdicts.

Lenin pointed out: "Restoration is the reversion of state power to the political representatives of the old order." ("The Agrarian Program of Social-Democracy in the First Russian Revolution," Collected Works of Lenin, Vol. XIII, p. 303) If Teng Hsiao-p'ing's plot were fulfilled, it necessarily would lead to capitalist restoration, the dictatorship of the proletariat would become the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and a fascist dictatorship, and the whole of China would change color.

II

Teng Hsiao-p'ing's attacks that the cadres promoted from among the workers and peasants "are generally inefficient." This is a malicious attack of the CCP Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, an attempt to sow discord in the CCP Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao and a total negation of the great gains of the Party in selecting cadres from among the workers and peasants since the great cultural revolution. Different classes have different criteria for judging "results." The proletariat can only use Chairman Mao's five criteria for bringing up successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat to judge the "results" of cadres promoted to leading posts. The "results" that conform to these criteria are good, and those that are not in

conformity with these criteria are no good. Apart from these, there can be no other criterion.

During the great proletarian cultural revolution, the working people mounted the stage of the superstructure, led the struggle-criticism-transformation in the domains of education, literature and art, public health and science and technology, smashed the unified empire monopolized by bourgeois intellectuals in these domains, and consolidated and strengthened the exercise of all-round dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie. The proletariat and the revolutionary people wholeheartedly supported and enthusiastically eulogized this and world-shaking event without precedent in history. During the great proletarian cultural revolution, in accordance with Chairman Mao's five criteria for bringing up successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat, hundreds of thousands of outstanding workers and peasants took part in leading bodies based on the three-in-one combination of the old, the middle-aged and the young. Together with the old comrades who adhered to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, they fought in unity, learned from one another, and played a very important role in strengthening Party building, restricting bourgeois rights, consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

All these "are very good" in the view of the broad masses of the people, but in the eyes of Teng Hsiao-p'ing, they are "terrible." It is patently clear that the "results" he has in mind are distinctly different from those of the revolutionary people.

Long before the great cultural revolution, Teng Hsiao-p'ing had ganged up with Liu Shao-ch'i to recruit deserters and turncoats, and formed factions for selfish ends. He personally introduced renegades into the Party, concocted rules and regulations for shielding renegades and giving them important posts so that this handful of renegades, enemy agents and those in power taking the capitalist road could usurp part of the power of the Party and the state. At that time, no one ever heard Teng Hsiao-p'ing talk in terms of "unsatisfactory results." After he resumed work, he on the one hand hurriedly recruited unrepentant capitalist-roaders, instigated them to "steel their hearts," "risk their old lives" and "show no fear of being toppled a second time" in order to energetically reverse verdicts and restore capitalism. On the other hand he confounded right and wrong, confused black and white, made a lot of noise about "the poor results" of the very vigorous new forces who emerged and made contributions during the great cultural revolution, and hurled all kinds of landers and attacks against them. This fully shows that the "results" he wants are not the practice of Marxism but the practice of revisionism, not the practice of socialism but the practical of capitalism, not to continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat through to the end but to turn back the wheel of history, reverse verdicts and restore capitalism.

III

Teng Hsiao-p'ing says that the worker-peasant cadres "basically have no experience" and "are hand-tied and helpless" when promoted. This is entirely a malicious attack and shameless lie. Chairman Mao points out that

"the masses are the real heroes" and that "speaking in a certain sense, the fighters with the most practical experience are the wisest and the most capable." The broad masses of workers and poor and lower-middle peasants are direct participants in the three great revolutionary movements. They have rich practical experience and are the makers of the material wealth as well as the spiritual wealth of society. Especially through their steeling in the great proletarian cultural revolution and the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius, and after the study of the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the criticism of Water Margin, they have heightened their awareness of class struggle and the two-line struggle as never before and are able to make fuller use of their wisdom and intelligence. After taking up leading positions, many outstanding elements from among the workers and peasants seriously study works by Marx, Lenin and Chairman Mao. They dare to wage struggle against the bourgeoisie inside and outside the Party and all class enemies, adhere to principles, obey disciplines, actively participate in collective productive labor, form close ties with the people, and have made outstanding achievements in work. Many of the units under their charge have become advanced units. Practice shows that many of the worker-peasant cadres in leading posts have acquired plenty of experience in class struggle and the two-line struggle and have become an important force in leading bodies based on the "three-in-one combination" of the old, the middle-aged and the young. Teng Hsiao-p'ing's vilification of them as "basically inexperienced" has fully revealed the class prejudices of this general representative of the bourgeoisie within the Party.

That man Teng Hsiao-p'ing who does not read books and knows nothing of Marxism-Leninism is the general representative of the bourgeoisie inside and outside the Party. Whathe thinks and does is for the promotion of reivsionism and the restoration of capitalism. The experience he wants is nothing more than the experience of "white or black, any cat which catches mice is a good cat," the experience of exercising controlling, choking and repressing the masses and the experience of reversing verdicts and restoring capitalism. The cadres promoted from among the common workers and the poor and lower-middle peasants certainly do not have such experience, but it is actually a very good thing that they do not have such experience. Our Party and state want to stress the selection of such fine worker-peasant comrades without bourgeois prejudices and old traditions and habits to take up leadership work. Only in this way could Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line be more properly implemented, could that portion of the superstructure which does not conform to the economic base be unremittingly transformed and could we combat and guard against revisionism and carry the continuation of the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat through to the end.

After taking up leading posts, the worker-peasant comrades naturally have to go through a process leading from having little experience to having more experience. So long as they seriously study works by Marx, Lenin and Chairman Mao, take part in the practice of leadership work, temper themselves in the struggle, learn from the old cadres who adhere to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, and keep on remolding their world outlook, as was pointed out by Chairman Mao, "after a few years, experience will belong to those without experience." Many Party organizations and old comrades who adhere to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line have brought up worker-peasant cadres in

this way. In accordance with Chairman Mao's instructions, "Don't lose touch with the masses, don't lose touch with production and do manual work"; "it is necessary to properly run study classes for worker-peasant-soldier cadres," they warmly support the worker-peasant cadres and create all kinds of favorable conditions to help them temper themselves, accumulate experience, and better fulfill the various tasks of the Party. Under the pretext of "basically having no experience," Teng Hsiao-p'ing wants to send the newly promoted worker and peasant cadres "without exception to the basic level for tempering and remolding" and embellish this as "cherishing the cadres." Actually, his aim is to remove all the worker-peasant cadres already promoted, block up the road of emphasizing the selection of cadres from among the workers and peasants and sabotage the great undertaking of bringing up millions of successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat advocated by Chairman Mao.

Teng Hsiao-p'ing's frenzied opposition to relying on the workers, peasants and soldiers and to selecting cadres from among the workers and peasants has a very deep ideological origin and class origin. He has never been a Marxist, but is only a fellow-traveler of the Party, and a bourgeois democrat within the Party. After working his way into the socialist revolution, he persisted in taking the capitalist road and represented collectively the interests and aspirations of the new and the old bourgeoisie both inside and outside the Party. This determines that he is bound to actively exclude the workers and peasants on the question of employment of people, suppress the new forces and help the moribund forces. He looks upon manual labor with contempt, despises the workers and peasants and considers the masses as "riff-raffs."

Such is the nature of all reactionaries in history. In their view, "those who labor with their mind govern others; those who labor with their strength are governed by others"; "sons of officials are constantly officials and sons of farmers are constantly farmers"; and workers and peasants are only slaves to be exploited and ordered about by them. They regarded the young overtaking the old and the rise of those in low social station above those in high social station as "the young overstepping the old" and "the mean thwarting the noble," and listed them in the category of "six violations of human relations." They ridiculed the newly emerging class as the "mentally retarded," "lack of refinement" and said that since these people lacked the long record of administrative attributes of kings, barons, nobles and great families, how could they hold the "sacred power" of the state?

Teng Hsiao-p'ing has inherited completely the mantle of the reactionary class. Like the landlord and the bourgeois classes, he looks upon state power as his private hereditary territory. As for the broad masses of workers and peasants and the large numbers of the little known path-breakers who rose to criticize the revisionist line, rebel against the bourgeoisie and seize power from the capitalist-roaders and the large numbers of outstanding workers and peasants who joined the leading bodies based on the "three-in-one combination" of the old, the middle-aged and the young, he considers them to be all guilty of heinous crimes, holds a grudge against them as though they had desecrated his ancestral tomb, tries to settle accounts with them all the time and will not rest content until he has all of them put to death. In

going against the tide, Teng Hsiao-p'ing does not have the support of the people and is doomed to failure. Like all representatives of the reactionaries in history, he will be crushed by the advancing wheel of history.

We deeply believe that the broad masses of worker and peasant cadres will be further educated profoundly and steeled in this great struggle for criticizing Teng Hsiao-p'ing and striking back at the Right-deviation wind to reverse verdicts, and under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. With the help of the Party organization and the broad masses of people, they will grow more sturdily and play an increasingly greater role in the leading bodies based on the "three-in-one combination" of the old, the middle-aged and the young, and make new contributions to the great undertaking of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

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STRUGGLE AGAINST RIGHT-DEVIATION
WIND TO REVERSE VERDICTS

Strengthen Party Leadership to Beat Back the Right-Deviation Wind To Reverse Verdicts

- The Party committee of Shanghai Cotton Textile Mill No. 17 persists in taking class struggle as the key link. The workers are guided to grasp the weapon of criticism and open mass criticism battlefields everywhere. Overall fulfillment of state plans for January and February is achieved

(Peking Jen-min Jih-pao March 31, 1976)

(NCNA Dispatch Shanghai, March 30, 1976) In the struggle to beat back the Right-deviation wind to reverse verdicts, the CCP committee of Shanghai Cotton Textile Mill No. 17 persists in taking class struggle as the key link, fully strengthens Party leadership, arouses the masses, and guides the workers of the whole mill to take Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung thought as a weapon for unfolding violent criticism against that unrepentant capitalist-roader within the Party and the revisionist line pushed by him. This enables the current struggle to deepen increasingly along Chairman Mao's revolutionary line.

The broad masses of workers of Shanghai Cotton Textile Mill No. 17 have at all times been in the van of the great proletarian cultural revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius and have waged a brave struggle to safeguard Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. Today, with profound proletarian feelings for the great leader Chairman Mao, they have set up battlefields for revolutionary mass criticism everywhere in the mill to criticize the revisionist program of "taking the three directive as the key link" put forth by that unrepentant capitalist-roader within the Party.

The night-shift workers call criticism meetings immediately after work without taking a rest. Those morning-shift workers stay behind in the factory to write critical articles after work. Those workers convalescing at home write big-chracter posters and send them to the mill. Since the start of the struggle to beat back the Right-deviation wind to reverse verdicts, the whole mill has put up nearly 10,000 big-character posters and published over 100 issues of mass criticism columns. All shifts and teams from the mill to the worskhops call criticism meetings.

"Reversal of verdicts goes against the will of people." This directive recently issued by Chairman Mao has further inspired the workers with a revolutionary will to fight and further strengthened their determination in carrying this struggle through to the end. Under the leadership of the factory Party committee, there has appeared in the whole mill a new surging tide in studying Chairman Mao's important instructions and hitting back at the Right-deviation wind to reverse verdicts.

In strengthening leadership over the struggle to beat back the Right-deviation wind to reverse verdicts, the Party committee of the Shanghai Cotton Mill No. 17 began with intensifying ideological education for the cadres and the masses and kept raising their understanding of the nature, significance and target of this great struggle. As soon as Chairman Mao's important directive on beating back the Right-deviation wind to reverse verdicts and the relevant documents of the CCP Central Committee were handed down, the Party committee passed them on in time and organized study and discussion. Further, the Party committee paid particular attention to training backbone cadres from top to bottom and relying on the backbone cadres to lead the masses.

At the same time, the Party committee adopted various ways to make the workers of the whole mill understand the various reactionary speeches and acts of that unrepentant capitalist-roader within the Party who followed Liu Shao-ch'i in practicing revisionism before the great cultural revolution and who stirred up the Right-deviation wind to reverse verdicts after he reassumed work. Further the Party committee guided the cadres and the masses to unfold a "three-comparison" activity--comparison between the new and the old society, comparison between the time before and the time after the great cultural revolution, and comparison between socialist China and Soviet revisionist social-imperialism. The aim was to expose the reactionary features of that unrepentant capitalist-roader within the Party who stirred up the Right-deviation wind to reverse verdicts, thus enabling the workers of the whole factory to keep deepening their understanding of the great significance of this struggle and heightening their consciousness in beating back the Right-deviation wind to reverse verdicts.

Everyone said: To reverse the verdicts of the great cultural revolution, that unrepentant capitalist-roader within the Party directs the spearhead at the great leader Chairman Mao, at Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and at the broad revolutionary masses. Our struggle against them is a life-and-death struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and is a continuation and deepening of the great cultural revolution.

To deepen the revolutionary mass criticism, the Party committee of the Cotton Textile Mill No. 17 constantly analyzed the situation of struggle and studied the progress of the movement. Since the start of the struggle to beat back the Right-deviation to reverse verdicts, they have grasped work mainly in three respects:

(1) Guiding the working masses to direct the spearhead of struggle at that unrepentant capitalist-roader within the Party. At the very start of the movement, the Party committee laid stress on keeping to the general orientation of struggle and concentrating their efforts on exposing and criticizing the revisionist line pushed by that unrepentant capitalist-roader within the Party and criticizing his various Right-deviation activities to reverse verdicts. The Party organizations at various levels paid attention to conducting meticulous ideological work and uniting the broad masses of workers in fighting together. Due to the correct guidance of the Party committee, the workers of the whole mill kept to the general orientation of struggle, thus enabling the movement to develop healthily from beginning to end under the great strategic plan of Chairman Mao.

(2) Guiding the working masses to grasp, for in-depth criticism, the essence of the vain attempt of that unrepentant capitalist-roader within the Party to restore capitalism. Applying the method of using the part to set the whole in motion the Party committee guided the cadres and the masses criticize in depth from the plan of struggle between reversal and counter-reversal of verdict and between restoration and counter-restoration, the revisionist program of "taking the three directives as the key link," criticize the theory of the dying out of class struggle, the theory of productive forces and eclectic sophistry, and expose the reactionary essence of the revisionist line pushed by that unrepentant capitalist-roader within the Party. The Party committee summed up the experiences of some typical units of the mill in study and criticism and called an experience-exchange meeting, thus giving impetus to the role of deepening the mill-wide criticism of the "taking the three directives as the key link."

(3) Guiding the worker masses to lay hold of the weapon of criticism. After the start of the movement, the Party committee of the mill persistently guided the cadres and the masses to seriously study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat and to study a series of important directives from Chairman Mao on the great proletarian cultural revolution. The Party organizations at various levels and the trade union and CYL organizations organized reading classes and special topic study classes, thereby creating more conditions for study for the cadres and the ranks of theorists.

Since the beginning of this year, such study classes had an attendance of more than 2,000 man-times. At the study class for cadres and members of the theorist contingent held in the last ten days of February, the Party committee guided them to take that unrepentant capitalist-roader within the Party as a teacher by negative example in studying Marx's brilliant discourses on the dictatorship of the proletariat, and they made a concentrated study of the problems of the capitalist-roaders.

First, they studied Lenin's "Class Changes" and Chairman Mao's important instructions on the question of theory and analyzed the class origin, ideological origin, and economic base of the capitalist roaders. This enabled them to see the objective necessity for that unrepentant capitalist-roader to change from a bourgeois and petty-bourgeois democrat into a capitalist-roader and from a Party fellow-traveler into an "opponent" to the socialist revolution.

Second, they studied the revolutionary teachers' discusses on classes and class struggle and for criticism of the chieftains of the opportunist line and studied the laws governing the activities of the capitalist-roaders. They realized that in order to restore capitalist, that unrepentant capitalist-roader had to alter the Party's Marxist program and line, extend bourgeois rights and spread the pernicious influence of feudalism, capitalism and revisionism.

Third, they studied Chairman Mao's discourses on continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, especially his directive on the great proletarian cultural revolution, and analyzed the bourgeois nature of the capitalist-roaders. This enabled them to see that because the unrepentant capitalist-roader is an agent of the bourgeoisie within the Party, his

reactionary class nature determines that he will jump out to reverse the verdicts of the great cultural revolution and settle accounts with the great cultural revolution and to turn back the wheel of history.

In the editorial, "Reversing Verdicts Goes Against the Will of People," Jen-min Jih-pao relayed Chairman Mao's most recent important directive: "Reversing verdicts goes against the will of people." "With the socialist revolution, they themselves come under fire. At the time of the cooperative transformation of agriculture, there were people in the Party who opposed it, and when it comes to criticizing bourgeois rights, they resent it. You are making the socialist revolution and yet don't know where the bourgeoisie is. It is right in the Communist Party--those in power taking the capitalist road. The capitalist roaders are still on the capitalist road."

The factory Party committee immediately launched a study class and organized the cadres and the masses to seriously study and further dissect the reactionary essence of the activities of that unrepentant capitalist-roader to promote the reversal of verdicts. The workers said, "The capitalist-roaders are still on the capitalist road and there are really those working for the reversal of verdicts. In reversing verdicts, the capitalist-roaders are launching on behalf of the bourgeoisie a retaliatory attack on the proletariat. That the capitalist roaders are reversing the verdicts shows that the socialist revolution, has two kinds of future and is fraught with the danger of capitalist restoration. That unrepentant capitalist-roader reverses the verdicts of the great cultural revolution in a vain attempt to restore Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao's revisionist stuff already criticized by us. We will never agree to this and will resolutely fight him to the end!"

Through study and criticism, the broad masses of cadres and people further identified the ultra-Right essence of the revisionist line pushed by that unrepentant capitalist-roader, deepened their understanding of the nature, target, tasks and future prospects of the socialist revolution in theory and practice, and heightened their consciousness in combating and preventing revisionism.

Following Chairman Mao's teaching that "the Party organization should be a vigorous vanguard organization composed of advanced proletarian elements and capable of leading the proletariat and the revolutionary masses in fighting the enemy of the proletariat," the Party committee of the Shanghai Cotton Textile Mill No. 17 in the struggle to beat back the Right-deviation wind to reverse verdicts paid attention to giving full play to the role of the Party organization as a bastion and the exemplary role of the Party members as vanguards.

At the initial stage of the struggle to beat back the Right-deviation wind to reverse verdicts, the Party committee, while giving Party lessons, enlightened the 1,100-odd Party members of the whole mill on the significance of the struggle to beat back the Right-deviation wind to reverse verdicts and aroused the Party members to take an active part in the struggle. The Party members who attended classes for rotational training held by the

Party general branches and Party branches accounted for over 50 percent of the total number of Party members in the mill. After the deepening of the struggle, the factory Party committee again issued a notice on "further strengthening Party building in struggle," to all Party branches. The broad masses of Party members took the lead in study and in criticism, vigorously fought on the forefront of struggle and united with the broad masses to form an overwhelmingly large revolutionary army to beat back the Right-deviation wind to reverse verdicts.

In the course of the struggle to beat back the Right-deviation wind to reverse verdicts, four new Party members of the "Green Pine" study group of the iron-work workshop of the mobile plant established in the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius led 19 CYL members and young people of the group to analyze the verdict-reversal restoration activities of that unrepentant capitalist-roader within the Party to compare him with Confucius, the forefather of past restorationists, and with Sung Chiang, a capitulationist in Water Margin, and to criticize in depth the line of restoration and regression pushed by him. Everyone of the group wrote critical articles and spoke many times at the criticism meetings held at the mill and workshop, thus providing experience for deepening study and criticism in the whole mill.

The "squad members" of the factory Party committee made special efforts to learn a bit more, discuss things a bit more extensively and make criticism a bit more penetratingly, in the struggle to beat back the Right-deviation wind to reverse verdicts. The leading members of the Party took the lead in speaking at criticism meetings, in writing critical articles, in grasping revolution and promoting production and in performing collective productive labor, thus setting an example for the cadres and masses of the whole mill.

Spurred by the struggle to beat back the Right-deviation wind to reverse verdicts, the Shanghai Cotton Textile Mill No. 17 achieved an overall fulfillment of state plans in January and February.

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GREAT PROLETARIAN CULTURAL REVOLUTION

Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution
Good Sweep of Exploiting Class Ideology

(NCNA-English Peking, May 30, 1976)

china's great proletarian cultural revolution has made a sweep of unprecedented depth, breadth and power against the old ideology and culture of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes.

beginning in 1966, the great cultural revolution started first in the fields of culture and education then spread rapidly to all spheres of the superstructure. hundreds of millions of big-character posters appeared in factories, rural people's communes, army units, schools, shops, government organs and neighbourhoods. the spearhead of the attack was directed at those party persons in power taking the capitalist road, exposing their revisionist line and criticizing the old ideas, culture, customs and habits that they clung to, which had accumulated over the thousands of years of different exploiting systems.

the decision of the central committee of the chinese communist party concerning the great proletarian cultural revolution, which was adopted on august 8, 1966, pointed out: "although the bourgeoisie has been overthrown, it is still trying to use the old ideas, culture, customs and habits of the exploiting classes to corrupt the masses, capture their minds and endeavour to stage a come-back. the proletariat must do the exact opposite: it must meet head-on every challenge of the bourgeoisie in the ideological field and use the new ideas, culture, customs and habits of the proletariat to change the mental outlook of the whole of society."

the decade since the start of the great cultural revolution has been a period in which extensive and profound changes have taken place in the superstructure. these changes include:

the revolution in literature and art. before the great cultural revolution, over 90 per cent of the programmes being performed by the more than 2,800 theatrical troupes smeared the working people -- the creators of history -- as dirt and sang in praise of emperors, kings, generals and ministers and scholars and beauties both at home and abroad. literature and art spread the ideology and way of life of the landlords and the bourgeoisie and even used the past to disparage the present and oppose the dictatorship of the proletariat. chairman mao pointed out in 1963 that in the fields of literature and art "the 'dead' still dominate in many departments." the revolution in literature and

art started in the peking opera, ballet and symphony where the influences of bourgeois and feudal culture were strongest. this revolution has driven the emperors, kings, generals and ministers, scholars and beauties off the stage and placed in the centre of it the heroes of the proletariat -- the workers, peasants and soldiers. the birth of model revolutionary theatrical works and the popularization of the experience of their creation have brought about a flourishing of socialist revolutionary literature and art. this revolution also enables the implementation of the policy that literature and art must serve the workers, peasants and soldiers and are means of uniting and educating the people and attacking and annihilating the enemies. the cultural workers go deep among the workers, peasants and soldiers, and the workers, peasants and soldiers have taken up creative work of all kinds and have become the masters of literature and art.

the revolution in education. before the great cultural revolution, under liu shao-chi's revisionist line, schools in socialist china were forced to follow the bourgeois system of education that was geared to train an intellectual elite. the students did not know how workers worked nor how peasants farmed. they looked down upon manual labour and the working people, and thought of knowledege as private property, an investment for the realization of wealth and fame. chairman mao pointed out in 1966 that "the domination of our schools and colleges by bourgeois intellectuals should not be tolerated any longer." the revolution in education carries out the policy that education must serve proletarian politics and be combined with productive labour. this enables the students to become workers with socialist consciousness and culture. industrial workers have been sent to primary, middle and higher educational institutes to lead the revolution in education. half a million workers, peasants and soldiers who have practical experience have attended college and several million more have attended various short-term courses run by different colleges and universities. at the same time, there are now more than 6,000 worker or peasant colleges which are run by factories, counties and people's communes. some 120 million people are attending different kinds of spare-time evening schools in factories and villages, which combine political studies with other cultural subjects.

the revolution in medicine. before the great cultural revolution, the medical and health organizations were concentrated in the cities and catered to the few while the needs of the vast countryside were neglected. in 1965, chairman mao criticized the ministry of health with the remark that it should be renamed "the ministry of health for urban overlords". during

the great cultural revolution, the focus of medical and health work has been shifted to the countryside to serve the needs of the peasants who constitute 80 percent of china's population. among city medical workers, more than 100,000 have gone to work in medical units in the countryside and over one million have taken turns to tour the countryside. the 1,500,000 barefoot doctors that have been trained were selected from among the peasants and remain peasants while acting as doctors. in addition, the rural co-operative medical service has been set up all over the country.

the few "experts" and "highly trained professionals" no longer monopolize science and technology. millions upon millions of experienced workers and peasants now take part in scientific research. over one hundred cities throughout the country are conducting scientific research with workers as the backbone force while some 13,000,000 peasants are participating in scientific experiments on the people's communes.

the regular participation in collective productive labour by cadres of the state departments has now been firmly established as a system basic to the battle and defence against revisionism in socialist society. in a proletarian state, cadres are not "lords" but are ordinary labourers. the great cultural revolution has taught the cadres that they must spend a large part of their time working in basic units among the masses and go regularly to study and take up physical labour at the "may 7" cadres' school so that they will not be divorced from labour or the masses. they must consciously strive to be "the servants of the people" and guard against becoming "masters of the people".

twelve million young city people have gone to settle in the countryside to help build up socialist new villages. this helps narrow the gaps, which are the result of thousands of years of private ownership, between worker and peasant, between city and countryside and between mental and manual labour. it has dealt a heavy blow at the old traditional idea that any person once he had an education, was superior to others and as a matter of course despised labour and looked down on the labouring people. meetings of representatives of young city people settling in the countryside were held in various provinces, cities and autonomous regions last year. the representatives declared in high revolutionary spirit that they would be the vanguard force in narrowing the three differences, they would bury the old world and build a new one with their own hands, they declared.

in factories, the cadres take part in physical labour on the one hand and on the other the workers take part in leadership and management. they are organizers of production as well as workers. this has broken down the bourgeois and revisionist management system and idea

that workers are there to obey orders. the policy of relying upon workers to run socialist enterprises has been carried out and the communist revolutionary spirit in labour is being displayed by cadres and workers.

in the great struggle to criticize revisionism, the bourgeoisie and all other reactionary classes, marxism-leninism-mao tsetung thought has been popularized among the chinese people on an unprecedented scale. millions upon millions of workers and peasants have seriously studied the marxist-leninist classics including chairman mao's works and now use these revolutionary theories in guiding their struggles. they criticize the exploitation system, the bourgeoisie and revisionism; they criticize party capitalist-roaders, bourgeois representatives and bourgeois "academic authorities"; they criticize all kinds of bourgeois academic theories, bourgeois views in philosophy, history, education, journalism and in literature and art. in other words, they criticize the old world, its ideas, culture, habits and customs which the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes have used to poison and repress the labouring people. this great revolution is unprecedented in china's history. these new things, which embody elementary communist ideas and have come to birth and developed through struggles, are attacking and clearing away the residue of decadent capitalism.

the arch unrepentant party capitalist-roader teng hsiao-ping came out with attacks on the new socialist things, on the revolution in literature and art, education and medical and health work. these attacks were aimed at restoring bourgeois power in the ideological and cultural fields, to exercise dictatorship over the proletariat and serve the political line for a capitalist restoration. the worker-peasant-soldier students have dealt this criminal attempt a head-on blow.

before a brand-new social system can be built on the site of the old, the site must be swept clean. the "manifesto of the communist party" pointed out that "the communist revolution is the most radical rupture with traditional property relations; no wonder that its development involves the most radical rupture with traditional ideas."

ideology and culture, which belong to the superstructure, either consolidate and promote the economic basis or disintegrate and undermine it. the capitalist society was established on the basis of private ownership. its ideology and culture served to protect the sacredness of bourgeois private ownership. with the overthrow of its political and economic system the bourgeoisie would certainly launch an attack on the new system by using the strength of the old ideology which had been formed by several thousand years of private ownership

and has wide influence on the society in order to try to restore the old system. after our socialist motherland established the proletarian dictatorship, new china had to criticize and transform the old superstructure, which did not suit the socialist economic basis, and establish a new proletarian ideology and culture. the criticism and transformation was bound to meet stubborn resistance on the part of the overthrown bourgeoisie and all other exploited classes.

since the founding of new china, the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the ideological sphere has been continuous and fierce. chairman mao has led the people throughout the country in constantly repudiating the old ideology and culture of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes. the cultural revolution is the continuation and deepening of the struggle which is inevitable and will continue in the future. new socialist ideology and culture reflecting the proletarian interests and requirements will certainly be fostered, consolidated and developed in the course of the struggles to repudiate the old ideology and culture.

STUDY OF MARXISM-LENINISM-MAO TSETUNG THOUGHT

Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought Popularized in China

(NCNA-English Peking, May 31, 1976)

study of marxism-leninism-mao tsetung thought by people of all nationalities in china has been taking place on an unprecedented scale in the ten years since the start of the great proletarian cultural revolution. this steadily growing mass study movement has workers and peasants as its backbone force.

people in cities, rural areas, factories, army barracks, schools and homes are now conscientiously studying revolutionary theory, criticizing the revisionist line of teng hsiao-ping, the arch unrepentant capitalist-roader in the party, and repulsing the right deviationist attempt to reverse the correct verdicts of the cultural revolution.

in the struggle to expose and criticize liu shao-chi's revisionist line in the cultural revolution, the study of the works by marx, engels, lenin and stalin and by chairman mao became a mass movement of the people in their hundreds of millions. especially since the criticism of

lin piao and confucius in 1974 and the movement to study the theory on the dictatorship of the proletariat last year, spare-time political evening schools, study groups and even political colleges for studying marxism-leninism-mao tsetung thought have been universally set up in china's industrial enterprises, people's communes and production brigades, neighbourhood communities and the chinese people's liberation army units. among the participants are young men and women and elders in their seventies. 65-year-old woman liu yu-lan of the peihsinchiao street in peking was illiterate before the cultural revolution. she learned how to read and write and made industrious efforts to study marxist-leninist classics including chairman mao's works during the cultural revolution, she made a powerful rebuttal to the reactionary viewpoints of confucius and lin piao based on her own experiences in the old society and the new. she was asked to give reports on some 30 occasions to central authorities organs, army units and universities.

in order to penetratingly criticize the counter-revolutionary revisionist line of liu shao-chi and lin piao, the broad masses of the workers, peasants and soldiers and cadres have studied expositions by marx, engels, lenin, stalin and chairman mao on class struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat. they have studied chairman mao's philosophical works such as "on practice" and "on contradiction" and six marxist-leninist works suggested by the party central committee, including the "manifesto of the communist party" and "the state and revolution". many cadres, workers, peasants and soldiers have gone on to study other marxist-leninist works, gone through all the four volumes of the selected works of mao tsetung and read works on chinese and world history, and the history of philosophy.

the broad cadres and masses of the whole country are now studying and discussing such questions as the nature of class relations and class struggle under the socialist system, and existence of bourgeoisie "right in the communist party" and the fact that the "capitalist-roaders are still on the capitalist road" to deepen their awareness of the nature, target, task and prospects of socialist revolution. this has helped them to see more clearly the danger of the party persons taking the capitalist road who undermine the revolution from within the revolutionary ranks. it has also promoted the deep-going criticism of teng hsiao-ping's revisionist line and the anti-right deviationist struggle.

through theoretical study, the cadres and masses have constantly raised their consciousness of battling against the bourgeoisie and revisionism and that of pushing socialist revolution forward under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

with the deepening of the study movement, a contingent of theoretical activists with workers, peasants and soldiers

as the backbone is growing steadily. among the nearly 5 million theoretical activists in peking, tientsin, shanghai, liaoning and hopei, over 90 percent are workers, peasants and soldiers.

spare-time theoretical contingents are also developing rapidly in sinkiang, tibet, inner mongolia, ningsia and kwangsi autonomous regions. the sinkiang uighur autonomous region alone has 100,000 theoretical activists.

to deepen the movement, many theoretical study organizations do marxist-leninist research in their specialities. the talien hungchi shipyard in liaoning province and many big enterprises in peking, shanghai, tientsin and some provinces have set up research institutes or groups to make a special study of philosophy, political economy, scientific socialism, history, dialectics of nature, international issues and literature and art comments. liaoning province has 13,600 such research groups with a membership of 113,600.

in cooperation with professional theoretical workers, the worker-peasant-soldier activists have written great numbers of articles and pamphlets on their gains in studying marxist-leninist classics and chairman mao's works as well as study guides to help the uninitiated. the pamphlets "pointers and explanatory notes on the 'manifesto of the communist party'" written by workers of the taching oilfield, "study 'critique of the gotha programme' and strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat" by poor and lower-middle peasants of tachai, and "pointers and explanatory notes on 'imperialism, the highest stage of capitalism'" by p.l.a. men guarding chenpao island in northeast china are among the most popular of such works.

the mass movement to study marxist-leninist classics and chairman mao's works, a new socialist thing that has thrived during the great proletarian cultural revolution, was born in the fierce struggle between the two lines.

before the great cultural revolution, liu shao-chi and his ilk, out of mortal fear for the grasp of revolutionary theory by the masses of the people, desperately opposed and disrupted the people's study of marxist-leninist classics and chairman mao's works and undermined the distribution of these works. liu and his followers slandered the theoretical study by the worker-peasant-soldier masses as "over-simplification", "philistinism" and "pragmatism".

criticizing liu shao-chi's revisionist line during the cultural revolution, people of all nationalities in china exposed his sinister scheme and started a new drive to study marxism-leninism-mao tsetung thought. then lin piao came out with all sorts of absurdities aimed at sabotaging the movement by driving a wedge

between the study of marxist-leninist classics and the study of chairman mao's works. chairman mao issued the great call "read and study conscientiously and have a good grasp of marxism" at the second plenary session of the ninth central committee of the party in 1970. in response, people throughout the country deepened the movement to criticize lin piao and rectify the style of work and the movement to criticize lin piao and confucius, thus bringing their study of marxism-leninism-mao tsetung thought to a new height. the cadres and masses last year conscientiously studied chairman mao's instructions concerning the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat and, in the light of actual conditions, criticized revisionism and worked to restrict bourgeois right. panic-stricken, the arch unrepentant party capitalist-roader teng hsiao-ping hastily brought out his revisionist programme of "taking the three directives as the key link" and stirred up a "hurricane for vocational work" in an attempt to sabotage and strangle the mass movement to study marxist-leninist classics and chairman mao's works.

people of all nationalities in china, who have mastered the sharp weapon of marxism-leninism-mao tsetung thought, have waged a resolute struggle against teng hsiao-ping's counter-revolutionary revisionist line by persevering in the study of marxist-leninist classics and chairman mao's works. they say: to criticize revisionism and capitalism, and to fight against the capitalist-roaders, we need to make unremitting efforts in studying marxism-leninism-mao tsetung thought.

an outstanding example in this connection is provided by li chang-mao, a veteran worker in tientsin who has been consistently studying marxist-leninist classics and chairman mao's works over the past decade and more.

sixty-two-year-old li chang-mao is now a standing committee member of the tientsin municipal revolutionary committee, vice-chairman of the municipal trade union council and deputy to the fourth national people's congress. his experience shows that the study of marxism-leninism-mao tsetung thought has been popularized and deepened in the course of struggle.

li chang-mao was illiterate at the time of liberation in 1949. answering chairman mao's call to break down superstitions and emancipate the mind, he and other workers in tientsin pioneered the study of chairman mao's philosophical works in 1958, thus freeing philosophy from the classroom and turning it into a sharp weapon in the hands of the proletariat. infuriated at this, liu shao-chi fulminated "what use is it for the workers to study philosophy" while his agent in philosophical circles, yang hsien-chen, howled "what are we philosophers supposed to do if the workers can study philosophy by themselves?" they tried in every way to nip in the bud the incipient mass study of marxist philosophy.

li chang-mao fought back at liu shao-chi and yang hsien-chen with a will and firmly carried on his study of philosophy. he wrote many articles criticizing yang hsien-chen's revisionist theory of "two combines into one" which runs counter to the marxist-leninist theory of class struggle. during the great cultural revolution, he wrote articles refuting lin piao's "theory of genius", and in the current anti-right deviationist struggle he has criticized teng hsiao-ping's "taking the three directives as the key link" and other revisionist wares.

li chang-mao is now in charge of theoretical study among the 1.3 million workers in tientsin and concurrently serves as principal in two workers' evening schools of political theory, paying constant attention to the growth of the 300,000-strong contingent of worker activists in theoretical study. he is often called upon to give lectures on philosophy and other subjects in colleges and to contribute to the party press.

through the study of marxist-leninist classics and chairman mao's works, the cadres and masses have steadily heightened their awareness of the need to fight against revisionism.

wang tso-shan, party branch secretary of the hsiaochinchuang production brigade on the outskirts of tientsin and standing committee member of the fourth national people's congress, heard at a study class last july the revisionist programme of "taking the three directives as the key link" peddled by teng hsiao-ping. wang tso-shan promptly saw through it as a revisionist view. according to the theory of contradictions, there can be only one principal contradiction, namely the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, during the period of socialism. shunning this principal contradiction, forgetting the party's basic line and failing to grasp class struggle necessarily leads to the restoration of capitalism. backed by this understanding, wang tso-shan neither transmitted teng hsiao-ping's fallacy to the brigade nor put it into practice. on the contrary, he organized the cadres and members of the brigade to make a conscientious study of marxist-leninist classics and chairman mao's works on the theory of classes, class struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat and to criticize the dying out of class struggle and other absurdities. persisting in taking class struggle as the key link, grasping revolution and promoting production, the brigade members have brought about an excellent situation in both revolution and production.

party organizations at all levels throughout the country have strengthened their leadership over theoretical study and are running different types of study classes to train activists in theoretical study. most of the party organizations at and above the county level have

set up central study groups or leading groups to guide the study movement.

to meet the needs of the masses in the study movement, 4,000 million volumes of marxist-leninist classics and chairman mao's works have been brought off the press during the ten years of the great cultural revolution. this is eight times the total issued during the 17 years preceding the cultural revolution. a breakdown shows that 13 million sets of "selected works of marx and engels" and "selected works of lenin" have been distributed in this decade, 70 times the total in the previous 17 years. a total of 225,800,000 sets of "selected works of mao tsetung" have been put out, representing a 20-fold increase.

NATIONAL ACROBATIC FESTIVAL

China's National Acrobatic Festival Closes

(NCNA-English Peking, May 31, 1976)

some 2,000 acrobats presented 440 programme items at the national acrobatic festival which closed here recently after a ten weeks' run. the performers were from 27 provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions, the national railways department and the people's liberation army.

worker-peasant-soldier spectators in the capital acclaimed the festival as a grand review of the kaleidoscopic achievements in acrobatics which have flourished in the great proletarian cultural revolution.

striving for originality and discarding the stale, chinese acrobatic art has acquired a completely new look over recent years by following the principles "make the past serve the present and foreign things serve china" and "let a hundred flowers blossom; weed through the old to bring forth the new".

most of the turns presented at the festival were appreciated for their superb execution of highly difficult stunts, the image of vigour and vitality they created and the zeal with which they were presented. they were hailed as a vivid representation of the chinese people's courage and staunch revolutionary spirit and daring in scaling the heights to win victories.

sweeping away the decadent aspects of the old which catered to the landlords and capitalists, the new acrobatics is categorically different from the old school which the sinister revisionist line in art and literature termed a "pure technical performance" to please the eye.

among the festival's outstanding features were major breakthroughs in such skills as balancing and kicking bowls, jumping through hoops, balancing on stackedup chairs, mime, juggling and conjuring presented by acrobats from shanghai, liaoning, kwangsi, kwangtung and the p.l.a. kwangchow and shenyang units.

the efforts to cull new ideas from everyday life for developing new routines and to draw on the finer points of other branches of stage art have further vested the new acrobatics art with a strong contemporary flavour and a distinctive national trait.

the vigorous growth of acrobatics vividly proves that the revolution in literature and art, highlighted by the model revolutionary theatrical productions, has been steadily gaining in depth. it is also a forceful rebuttal to such fallacies as "letting a lone flower blossom" and "the present is not as good as the past" spread by teng hsiao-ping to discredit the model revolutionary theatrical works.

the acrobatic festival firmly adhered to the line of taking class struggle as the key link. in roundly criticizing teng hsiao-ping and participating in the anti-right deviationist struggle, the entrants also carried out a mass debate on such questions as the orientation and road for transforming acrobatics.

they reviewed the acute struggle between the two classes and the two lines in the transformation of acrobatics, re-studied chairman mao's "talks at the yenan forum on literature and art", and criticized the dying out of class struggle and the theory of "art for the whole people". this enabled them to see still more clearly that every step forward in the transformation has been made through class struggle and that only by keeping to chairman mao's revolutionary line in literature and art can the advance be made in the right direction and bring still greater prosperity to the art of acrobatics.

a great majority of the acrobats participating in the festival are youngsters who have come to the fore in the great cultural revolution, the youngest being just eight years old. showing a new style of work and fairly good basic training, they hold out bright prospects for china's acrobatic theatre. many veterans have broken through the shackles of the old conventions and eagerly passed on their specialties to the younger generation.

during the festival the acrobats also took time out of their packed schedule to give shows in factories, villages and army camps. in an open-air show in a rural people's commune, the acrobats stuck it out despite strong winds. the poor and lower-middle peasants there paid warm tribute to them, saying: the new spirit shown by these acrobats is a welcome change brought by the great cultural revolution; it also marks a victory in the struggle to criticize teng hsiao-ping and repulse the right deviationist attempt to reverse correct verdicts.

AMATEUR LITERARY & ART ACTIVITIES

Mass Amateur Literary and Art Activities in North China County

(NCNA-English Shihchiachuang, May 30, 1976)

in the last few years, mass amateur literary and art activities in shulu county in hopei province, north china, have been making new progress. the 31 communes of the county have set up creative centres and writing groups have been established in many production brigades, factories and schools. the county now has a force of 1,000 people, mainly workers, peasants and soldiers, who are engaged in creative literature and art work in their spare time.

in the last two years, these amateurs created 40,000 pieces of work. collections of amateur poems, revolutionary stories and paintings from the county have been issued by the hopei, tientsin and peking publishing houses. some of the novels and poems have been published in foreign as well as national minority languages. new year pictures by wang chun-liang, a peasant painter, have twice been shown at the national fine arts exhibition.

mass amateur literary and art activities in this county have developed rapidly since the beginning of the great proletarian cultural revolution. for example, only five persons in the chaitzu production brigade used to take part in poetry writing, but now there are 160 brigade members composing poems. chiming in with the movements to criticize lin piao and confucius and criticize the ancient novel "water margin", they have held many poetry contests. amateur artists in the

county presented 105 short dramas, musical numbers and dances at the recent county theatrical festival. these performances were enjoyed by the masses because, they said, they reflected class struggle, depicted the militant life of the workers, peasants and soldiers and portrayed the images of worker-peasant-soldier heroes.

the county amateur ranks are growing in the struggle. when the party capitalist-roaders stirred up the right deviationist wind to reverse correct verdicts last summer and autumn, the amateur worker-peasant-soldier writers and artists created many works to eulogize the great proletarian cultural revolution and the new socialist things. fine arts exhibits were shown and poem contests were held which propagated the new achievements of the revolution in literature and art. this encouraged the literary and art workers to play an even more militant role in class struggle and the struggle between the two lines.

EXTRACURRICULAR PROGRAMS FOR PRIMARY AND MIDDLE SCHOOL PUPILS

Extracurricular Programs for Peking's Primary and Middle School Pupils

(NCNA-English Peking, May 30, 1976)

over 40,000 outstanding workers, peasants, people's liberation army men, teachers and student activists have formed a strong force to guide the extracurricular activities of the million and more primary and middle school pupils in and around the city of peking. they help the pupils spend their after-school hours in rich, meaningful activities so that they will develop morally, intellectually and physically.

in socialist new china, the education of children and young people receives attention from all quarters. the government, schools, parents and various social institutions join their efforts in training the youngsters as successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat according to chairman mao's instructions on educating the young generation.

the municipal bureau of education has a special leading body to guide extracurricular activities. similar bodies have also been set up in the city districts,

street committees and neighbourhood committees. in many residential quarters, the management boards also pay attention to the activities and studies of the children and pupils living in their compounds. with the exception of several hundred professional teachers, all the extracurricular instructors are volunteers, who cooperate closely with the schools.

there are ten children's palaces and some one thousand off-school activity centres in peking. the red guard organizations of middle school students and the little red guard organizations of primary school children also arrange various kinds of extracurricular activities. the peking municipal children's palace alone has received over two million young visitors in the last four years and more.

primary and middle school pupils actively take part in class struggle through these activities. they form groups to study marxist-leninist classics and chairman mao's works. under the guidance of the instructors, they conduct social surveys, listen to reports on the revolutionary tradition made by veteran cadres and members of the red army, and call on old workers and poor peasants to learn about their miseries in the old society. they also unfold criticism of the system of exploitation and the bourgeoisie. in the current criticism of teng hsiao-ping's counter-revolutionary revisionist line and the struggle to beat back the right deviationist wind to reverse correct verdicts, the pupils have become an active propaganda force in their own neighbourhood communities. the children have been greatly moved by the heroic exploits of the p.l.a. guards, people's police and worker militia in fighting against the reactionary hooligans who perpetrated the counter-revolutionary political incident at tienanmen square. visiting the after-school centres periodically, these courageous defenders of the capital have given the children a vivid lesson in concrete class struggle. the pupils are now taking an active part in this struggle by explaining its significance through lantern slide shows, exhibitions, wall newspapers and theatrical performances.

the after-school centres also arrange a variety of programmes in science, literature, art and sports with the help of instructors sent by the children's palaces.

one of the important contents of the off-school activities is to help the children acquire some knowledge of marxism-leninism. in connection with the study of the theory on the dictatorship of the proletariat, an after-school centre in tungcheng district has arranged lectures on how a capitalist in peking made a fortune through exploitation before liberation. this enabled the children to have a real grasp of what capital is and how the capitalists cruelly exploit the workers,

and to understand why the bourgeoisie must be criticized. the centre has also compiled vivid stories about the deeds of outstanding people as reported in the newspapers to help the children raise their ability to spot and combat bourgeois ideas and foster a communist morality among them.

the extracurricular activities also temper the pupils' ability for social work. more than 800 middle and primary school pupils at peihsinchiao have become activists in propaganda and in such other activities as helping the residents in their political study, looking after reading rooms and running wall-papers.

off-school instructors are mainly retired workers. wang hung-nien, a communist party member and a former railway worker, is such an instructor for the pupils of a primary school in the chinpu lane in the hsicheng district. with great revolutionary enthusiasm, he set up an extracurricular centre after retiring in 1963 for children in his neighbourhood community. using his personal experience, this old worker, who became an apprentice at the age of 14 and was maltreated by capitalists and imperialists in the old society, as guided children in comparing the old china with the new, his miserable childhood with the happy life of children today and chairman mao's proletarian revolutionary line with the revisionist lines of liu shao-chi, lin piao and teng hsiao-ping so as to raise the youngsters' political consciousness. all the pupils in this school have attended his lectures. during the movement to criticize lin piao and confucius, he cited what had happened to his family in the old society to illustrate the reactionary nature of the "benevolence and righteousness", "loyalty and forbearance" and other such confucian concepts spread by the exploiting classes, and guided the children in studying the marxist viewpoints on class struggle. he pays attention to every aspect of the children's life, from their political orientation and study to daily life including sanitation. he is affectionately called "grandpa" by teachers and pupils alike at this primary school.

instructor chang hsing-liang, fighter of a p.l.a. unit in peking, regards the education of children as an important task in consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat. he often paints lantern slides on outstanding deeds of p.l.a. fighters to help the children learn from their proletarian revolutionary heroism in serving the people heart and soul.

in the course of the revolution in education, he has actively supported the children in their struggle to uphold the correct ideas and organized them to serve the local people. he says, "we should guide the children in learning to work for the revolution, distinguish the erroneous from the correct line and live up to their status as masters of the new society."

since the start of the anti-right deviationist struggle, chang hsing-liang has spent his off hours with the children almost every day. he often talks about the nature and significance of the current struggle and leads the children in participating in criticism of teng hsiao-ping.

DISCOVERY OF ARABLE AND PASTURE LAND

Over 13 Million Hectares of Arable and Pasture Land Discovered in Northeast China Province

(NCNA-English Harbin, May 30, 1976)

some 6.7 million hectares of cultivatable wasteland and about the same extent of pasture-land have been discovered in heilungkiang province, northeast china, by a land resource surveying team after three years of hard work. the greater khingan range, china's biggest timber production base, used to be considered too cold and too high above sea level to be suitable for cultivation. however, the surveying team has found through extensive investigation 1.3 million hectares of land there fit for growing wheat and soya bean owing to the rich soil moisture, thick layer of fertile topsoil, abundant sunlight and plentiful precipitation.

because of the lack of supplementary fodder bases, the herdsmen in hulunbuir league used to rely entirely on natural grazing grounds. thus natural calamities often led to fodder shortages. basing itself on data gained by its survey and investigation and drawing on the rich experience of the poor and lower-middle herdsmen, the team has helped the local authorities in working out a programme for building grain and fodder bases, thus opening a new path for the rational utilization of the land.

the discovery of the large tracts of arable wasteland has greatly fired the local peasants' socialist enthusiasm in expanding agriculture and animal husbandry. they have made tremendous efforts to improve the farmland and build water conservancy projects. the poor and lower-middle peasants in fuhsing people's commune of ajung banner, hulunbuir league, alone dug 130 kilometres of trunk canals and ditches within a year and built 670 hectares of high-yielding fields secure against both drought and flood. the peasants in botha banner finished in half a year the designing of a pump-well

irrigation system for 3,300 hectares of farmland and have already started construction.

In the past two years, the province has set up 470 land-reclamation sites in which 200,000 hectares of land have been brought under cultivation.

Founded in early 1973, the surveying team, composed of 100 scientific workers and teachers, has done a good job under extremely trying weather conditions.

Nine women scientific workers of the Sanchiang Plain surveying team like their men comrades, penetrated deep into marshland despite bitter cold and scorching heat to collect soil samples which turned out to be very useful in land reclamation work. They said, "The cultural revolution has opened our eyes to the evils of Liu Shao-chi's revisionist line which encouraged people to seek personal fame and material gain and led to the divorce of scientific research work from the workers and peasants and from the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment. Today, we scientific workers are resolved to march along the path brilliantly illuminated by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and to render ever better service to industrial and agricultural production.

Heilungkiang Province with a total area of 710,000 square kilometres is rich in natural resources. Yet in the long years before liberation, it was known as the "great northern wilderness". After liberation, the province carried out a large-scale agricultural reform and reclaimed nearly 700 thousand hectares of virgin land. It won a bumper harvest in 1974 despite severe natural calamities. Although one of the worst droughts in history hit the province last year, its total grain output registered a further big increase over 1974.

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* FOREIGN RELATIONS *
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CHINA AND EGYPT

Chinese Government Trade Delegation Arrives in Cairo

(NCNA-English Cairo, May 30, 1976)

a chinese government trade delegation led by vice-minister of foreign trade chen chieh arrived here today.

the delegation will hold talks with egyptian trade officials on concluding china-egypt trade protocol for 1976 and will also pay a friendly visit to egypt.

the delegation was welcomed at the airport by ahmed waffa said, under-secretary of state of the egyptian ministry of foreign trade.

chinese ambassador to egypt chang tung was also present.

20th Anniversary of Establishment of China-Egypt Diplomatic Relations Marked at Chinese Embassy in Cairo

(NCNA-English Cairo, May 30, 1976)

chinese ambassador to egypt chang tung gave a reception here this evening to celebrate the 20th anniversary of the establishment of the diplomatic relations between china and egypt.

among the guests present at the reception were: gamal el din sidky, minister of state for war production; mohamed hassan bahgat hassanein, minister of state for housing and reconstruction; mohamed zo el fakar, first under-secretary of state of the ministry of foreign trade; ahmed wafaa said, under-secretary of state of the ministry of foreign trade; saad afra and gamal mansour, under secretaries of state of the ministry of foreign affairs; mahamed amin abdel-hafez, governor of cairo; ibrahim el tahawi, chairman of the egypt-china friendship association; zohir rarab, deputy president of the egypt-china parliamentary friendship society as well as other senior egyptian officials.

the visiting chinese government trade delegation led by chen chieh, vice-minister of foreign trade, attended the reception.

the guests and hosts extended warm congratulations on the continuous development of friendship and cooperation between china and egypt after their diplomatic relations were established on may 30, 1956. they expressed the hope that the friendship between the chinese and egyptian people will be further strengthened.

CHINA AND IRAN

Chinese Football Delegation Leaves Peking for Teheran

(NCNA-English Peking, May 30, 1976)

a chinese football delegation led by huang chung left here for teheran, iran, by air this evening to play in the asian cup football final round.

the delegation was given a send-off at the airport by lu chin-tung, leading member of the chinese physical culture and sports commission.

CHINA AND KOREA

Peking Banquet in Honor of Korean Broadcasting and Television Delegation

(NCNA-English Peking, May 30, 1976)

teng kang, director of the central broadcasting administration, gave a banquet here this evening, warmly welcoming a korean broadcasting and television delegation led by kim sung djun, vice-chairman of the central broadcasting committee of the democratic people's republic of korea.

korean ambassador to china hyun jun keuk was among the guests at the banquet.

present were leading members of the "people's daily", the hsinhua news agency, the central broadcasting

administration and the information department of the chinese foreign ministry, including hsiao tse-yao, kuo chuan-yu, tung lin, li che-fu and wang chen.

the banquet was permeated with an atmosphere of militant friendship and close unity of the people of china and korea and the broadcasting and television workers of the two countries.

the delegation arrived in peking by train this morning for a friendly visit to china.

Chinese PLA Song and Dance Ensemble Visits Kaesong

(NCNA-English Pyongyang, May 30, 1976)

the visiting chinese people's liberation army song and dance ensemble made a friendly performance tour of kaesong from may 27 to 30.

during its stay in kaesong, the ensemble gave four performances to the warm welcome of about 7,000 audience. on may 29, the ensemble gave an open-air performance for red flag units of the korean people's army. the 4,000 spectators greatly appreciated the chinese and korean songs and dances presented by the ensemble. the duet songs, instrumental solos and the dance "menpa (doctress) in snow-capped mountain" were warmly welcomed. the solo singing of the korean songs "we sing this infinite happiness" and "the great leader has come to the sentry post" drew stormy applause from the audience.

the chinese ensemble also visited panmunjom and had a happy get-together with korean cultural and art workers.

the kaesong city people's committee gave a banquet in honour of the ensemble on may 27. among those attending the banquet were chang in sok, chief secretary of the kaesong city committee of the workers' party of korea; paek chang ryong, chairman of the kaesong city administrative committee; major general han ju gyong, senior member of the korean-chinese side of the korean military armistice commission; and local cultural and art workers. miao chieh, senior staff of the chinese people's volunteers delegation of the korean-chinese side to the korean military armistice commission, was present.

chief secretary chang in sok and ting li, leader of the chinese p.l.a. song and dance ensemble, spoke at the banquet enthusiastically praising the revolutionary friendship and militant solidarity cemented with blood between the chinese and korean peoples and armies.

the banquet was permeated with a very cordial and friendly atmosphere.

Korean Diving Delegation Leaves Peking for Home

(NCNA-English Peking, May 31, 1976)

the diving delegation from the democratic people's republic of korea led by hwang gwan sop left here for home by train today after concluding its friendly visit to china.

during their stay in china, the korean comrades-in-arms visited peking and changsha where they had joint practice and compared notes with chinese divers. they were warmly received by the chinese people and sportsmen wherever they went.

CHINA AND PAKISTAN

Chinese and Pakistan Governments Sign Agreement on Scientific, Technical Cooperation and Protocol to Agreement on Economic, Technical Cooperation

(NCNA-English Peking, May 30, 1976)

an agreement on scientific and technical cooperation between the government of the people's republic of china and the government of the islamic republic of pakistan and a protocol to the agreement on economic and technical cooperation between the two governments were signed here this afternoon.

chinese premier hua kuo-feng and pakistan prime minister zulfikar ali bhutto attended the signing ceremony.

li chiang, chinese minister of foreign trade, and abdul hafeez pirzada, pakistan minister of education and provincial coordination, signed the agreement and the protocol on behalf of their respective governments.

also present at the signing ceremony on the pakistan side were: aziz ahmed, minister of state for defence and foreign affairs; shaikh mohammad rashid, minister for food and agriculture; general mohammad shariff, chairman of the joint chiefs of staff committee; and air chief marshal zulfiqar ali khan, chief of the air staff.

also present at the signing ceremony on the chinese side were: chiao kuan-hua, minister of foreign affairs; han nien-lung, vice-minister of foreign affairs; chang tsai-chien, deputy chief of general staff of the chinese people's liberation army; and chen mu-hua, vice-minister of economic relations with foreign countries.

Joint Communique of People's Republic of China and Islamic Republic of Pakistan

(NCNA-English Peking, May 30, 1976)

following is the sino-pakistan joint communique:

1. at the invitation of his excellency hua kuo-feng, premier of the state council of the people's republic of china, his excellency zulfikar ali bhutto, prime minister of the islamic republic of pakistan and begum nusrat bhutto paid an official visit to the people's republic of china from may 26 to may 30, 1976. the prime minister of pakistan and members of his delegation were accorded a warm and cordial welcome by the government and people of china reflecting the feelings of profound friendship and solidarity that have traditionally existed between the two governments and peoples.

2. chairman mao tsetung met with the prime minister of pakistan, and they held discussions in a cordial and friendly atmosphere. prime minister bhutto conveyed to the great leader of the chinese people and through him to the fraternal people of china the greetings of the people of pakistan and the gratitude of the government and people of pakistan for china's unfailing and firm support to the just cause of pakistan. prime minister bhutto praised china for consistently upholding in international affairs that all states, big or small, must respect the principles of sovereign equality, territorial integrity and political independence and strictly

eschew interference in the internal affairs of other states.

3. prime minister bhutto congratulated premier hua kuo-feng on his appointment as the first vice-chairman of the party and premier of the state council of the people's republic of china.

4. prime minister bhutto and premier hua kuo-feng held extensive talks on the current international situation, developments in south asia as well as on bilateral relations and cooperation between the two countries. the two leaders expressed complete satisfaction with the outcome of the talks.

5. reviewing the international situation, the two sides agreed that, at present, the international situation is developing in a direction increasingly favourable to the people of the world and unfavourable to imperialism and hegemonism. they acclaimed the further awakening of the third world which was playing an ever greater role in international affairs. they agreed that the just struggle of the peoples of the third world against imperialism, colonialism, racism and hegemonism had become an irresistible historical trend. the two sides are opposed to the attempts by any country or group of countries to establish hegemony and spheres of influence in any part of the world.

6. the two sides agreed that a new economic order should be established on the basis of the principles of independence, self-reliance, sovereignty, equality and mutual benefit to replace the old economic order under which the third world is exploited by a few big powers. they agreed to take all effective measures to strengthen third world unity so as to change the unjust old economic order -- a legacy of the imperialist and colonialist era.

7. the two sides acclaimed the great victory of the liberation struggles of the peoples of vietnam, laos and cambodia, and held that it would be a source of inspiration to all peoples of the third world in their determination to defend their national independence, state sovereignty and territorial integrity. the two sides firmly support the korean people in their just struggle for the independent and peaceful re-unification of their fatherland, firmly support the arab people in their just struggle against israeli zionist aggression and outside interference and for the recovery of the occupied territories and the complete restoration of the national rights of the palestinian people. the two sides warmly congratulate the african people on the victories they have won in their great struggle against imperialism, colonialism and racism, highly appreciate the african people's vigilance against outside interference in african affairs, and firmly support the peoples of

zimbabwe, namibia and azania in southern africa in their just struggles for independence and liberation and against apartheid and white minority rule.

8. the two sides welcomed the positive developments in the situation on the south asian subcontinent. the prime minister of pakistan reiterated his commitment to normalising relations in south asia in accordance with the simla agreement. he informed the chinese premier that the various steps envisaged in the simla agreement for normalising international relations in south asia had been completed. only the jammu and kashmir dispute now remained to be resolved peacefully in accordance with the right of self-determination recognised in united nations resolutions and accepted by both india and pakistan. the prime minister affirmed that a just settlement of this dispute was imperative if relations between india and pakistan are to be fully normalised on the basis of principles of peaceful co-existence. the pakistan prime minister reaffirmed pakistan's sincere desire to close the chapter of conflict and confrontation in south asia and stressed the need for durable peace for pakistan, india and bangladesh so that they may be able to devote their energies and resources to the material and spiritual advancement of their peoples.

9. the prime minister appraised the chinese premier of the full rapprochement achieved between pakistan and bangladesh and expressed confidence that the historic ties between the peoples of the two countries would constitute a constructive element in promoting harmony and tranquility in the region. the prime minister welcomed the establishment of diplomatic relations between china and bangladesh.

10. the chinese government welcomed the positive developments in the relations between pakistan and bangladesh and appreciated the contribution that pakistan had made to the process of normalisation of relations with india. the prime minister of pakistan appraised the chinese premier of the present state of relations between pakistan and afghanistan. the chinese government looked with favour upon the prime minister's forthcoming visit to kabul and hoped that it would lead to positive results.

11. the two sides emphasised that the relations among all countries in south asia must reflect the principles of sovereign equality of states, large or small, inviolability of territorial integrity and non-interference in internal affairs. they reaffirmed their opposition to expansionism, hegemonism and claims to dominance or spheres of influence. the chinese premier reiterated that the chinese government and people will, as always, firmly support the pakistan people in safeguarding national independence, state sovereignty and territorial integrity. they also firmly support the struggle of the people of jammu and kashmir for attaining their right to self-determination.

12. the two sides firmly support the just proposition of the government of sri lanka for making the indian ocean a zone of peace and the proposal of his majesty the king of nepal that nepal be a zone of peace.

13. the pakistan prime minister thanked the chinese premier for china's firm support to the proposal of the pakistan government for a nuclear-free zone in south asia and expressed deep gratification at china's willingness to assume appropriate commitments arising therefrom.

14. the prime minister of pakistan reaffirmed that pakistan would continue to give full support to the chinese people in their struggle to liberate taiwan which is an inalienable part of the territory of the people's republic of china.

15. the pakistan side expressed deep admiration for the spectacular achievements made by the chinese people under the great leadership of chairman mao tsetung in consolidating the results of the great proletarian cultural revolution and national reconstruction. the chinese side warmly acclaimed the fact that under the leadership of prime minister zulfikar ali bhutto the people of pakistan had achieved outstanding successes both in the internal and external affairs, and safeguarded pakistan's political independence, state sovereignty and territorial integrity by opposing foreign interference and strengthening internal unity and developing the national economy.

16. the chinese premier welcomed the visit of prime minister zulfikar ali bhutto which coincided with the 25th anniversary of diplomatic relations between china and pakistan. the two leaders noted that during this period relations between the two countries were characterised by ties of sincere and indestructible friendship and were convinced that the prime minister's present visit to china would consolidate further the deep and traditional relations between the two countries.

17. prime minister bhutto extended a cordial invitation to premier hua kuo-feng to visit pakistan. the invitation was accepted by the chinese premier with pleasure.

peking, may 30, 1976

Prime Minister Ali Bhutto Gives Press Conference in Peking

(NCNA-English Peking, May 30, 1976)

prime minister zulfikar ali bhutto of the islamic republic of pakistan gave a press conference for chinese and foreign correspondents in peking this morning.

speaking of pakistan-china relations, prime minister bhutto said: "our relations have developed over a period of time. our relations are based on objective and sound considerations. that is why our relations have developed from stage to stage and this has happened in difficult times as well as in normal circumstances.

"i believe our relations will further develop along constructive and positive lines," he added.

the pakistan prime minister also reviewed his visit in peking during which chairman mao tsetung met with him and premier hua kuo-feng had talks with him.

the talks were "devoted to the international situation, the situation in our region and bilateral relations and collaboration between pakistan and china," prime minister bhutto said. "our talks were going very well, they were proceeding extremely well, and there were no difficulties, no obstacles in our discussions," he stated.

Pakistan Prime Minister Ali Bhutto Leaves Peking for Home

(NCNA-English Peking, May 30, 1976)

prime minister zulfikar ali bhutto of the islamic republic of pakistan, begum bhutto and other distinguished pakistan guests in his company wound up their official visit to china and left here for home by special plane this afternoon, carrying with them the profound sentiments of the chinese people for the pakistan people.

they were given a warm send-off at the airport by chinese premier hua kuo-feng, minister of foreign affairs chiao kuan-hua, minister of foreign trade li chiang and several thousand well-wishers from the chinese capital.

a grand send-off ceremony was held at peking airport, which flew the national flags of china and pakistan today. the band struck up the national anthems of pakistan and china. accompanied by premier hua kuo-

feng, prime minister bhutto reviewed a guard of honour made up of men of the ground, naval and air forces of the chinese people's liberation army. as the distinguished guests walked around to meet the well-wishers, youngsters in colourful costume danced to lively music, and cheers arose from the crowd who enthusiastically waved flowers and colourful ribbons. they expressed their hope that the friendship between the people of china and pakistan and the friendly relations of cooperation between the two countries would grow continuously. prime minister bhutto kept waving to them in acknowledgement.

present at the airport were members of the pakistan air force goodwill delegation led by air chief marshal zulfiqar ali khan, chief of staff of the pakistan air force, who accompanied prime minister bhutto on the china visit and will continue their visit in china.

among others seeing the guests off at the airport were:

members of the standing committee of the national people's congress yen chi-tzu, yang po-lan and li chu-kuei;

leading members of government departments concerned, the chinese people's liberation army, and the peking municipal revolutionary committee han nien-lung, chang tsai-chien, ma ning, chen mu-hua, hao chung-shih, sun hsiao-feng, hsueh yu-shan, yin chung-wei, liu tsun-hsin, ting kuo-yu, fu yu-fang, chang hsueh-chun, and chinese ambassador to pakistan lu wei-chao.

pakistan ambassador to china mumtaz ali alvie and mrs. alvie, pakistan embassy officials and other pakistan friends in peking.

diplomatic envoys to china from other countries were also present.

Chinese Air Force Commander Gives Banquet
for Pakistan Air Force Goodwill Delegation

(NCNA-English Peking, May 30, 1976)

ma ning, commander of the air force of the chinese people's liberation army, gave a banquet here this evening, warmly welcoming the pakistan air force good-will delegation led by air chief marshal zulfiqar ali khan, chief of staff of the pakistan air force.

pakistan ambassador to china mumtaz ali alvie and diplomatic officials of the pakistan embassy in peking were among the guests at the banquet.

in their toasts at the banquet which was alive with expressions of friendship, the chinese air force commander and the pakistan air chief marshal pointed out that the profound friendship between the people of china and pakistan established in their struggle against imperialism, hegemonism and expansionism would be consolidated and strengthened and the friendly relations and cooperation between the air forces of the two countries would likewise be further developed.

present were tsao li-huai and ho ting-yi, deputy commanders, and kao hou-liang, deputy political commissar, of the p.l.a. air force, and yin tso-chen, deputy director of the foreign affairs bureau of the national defence ministry.

CHINA AND SUDAN

Chinese Ambassador Gives Reception on Art
Troupe's Visit to Sudan

(NCNA-English Khartoum, May 29, 1976)

chinese ambassador to the sudan chang yueh gave a reception at the embassy here this evening in honour of the visit of the chinese art troupe to the sudan.

among the 200 guests at the reception were assistant secretaries general of the sudanese socialist union ahmed abdel halim and omar el-hag musa, minister for the presidency of the republic abdulla el hassan el khidir and minister of state for culture and information ismail el hag musa.

present also were friends from the sudanese folklore troupe, sudanese acrobatic troupe and other art circles.

all members of the chinese art troupe attended the reception.

leader of the visiting chinese government delegation fang yi and other members of the delegation were also present.

artists of the two countries chatted cordially and sang chinese and sudanese songs at the reception which proceeded in a warm and friendly atmosphere.

Chinese Art Troupe Leaves Khartoum for Gezira Province

(NCNA-English Khartoum, May 30, 1976)

the chinese art troupe with yin cheng-chung as leader and shen shen as deputy leader left here today for a friendly visit to wad medani, capital of gezira province.

during its stay here, the troupe gave six performances to an audience of more than 7,000 in total. the performances were repeatedly televised by omdurman television broadcasting service.

the music and dance programmes put on by the chinese artists reflected the militant life and revolutionary enthusiasm of the chinese workers, peasants and soldiers, and embodied the rich fruits of the chinese revolution in art and literature exemplified by model revolutionary theatrical works. they were warmly acclaimed by the audience. during the performances, every time when the word "peking" was heard from the songs sung by chinese artists, warm applause burst out from the sudanese audience. the sudanese songs and music performed by chinese artists were also much appreciated and sincerely praised by the audience.

during the past few days, khartoum newspapers enthusiastically reported and praised the performances of the chinese art troupe and a big number of pictures were published. art editor mr. fatah of "al ayam" newspaper said: "i have seen many performances given by foreign art troupes, but i have never been so excited as when i saw the performance by the chinese artists." "their performance has a unique style and vivid national feature, which raise enthusiasm of the people to create their new life," he added. "al sahafa" said in a commentary on may 27 that the performance of the chinese artists "filled people with greater vigor to meet the new coming day."

Chinese Government Delegation and Art Troupe Feted in Khartoum

(NCNA-English Khartoum, May 30, 1976)

the national council for solidarity, friendship and peace under the sudanese socialist union (s.s.u.) gave a tea party here yesterday afternoon in honour of the chinese government delegation led by fang yi with chang yueh as deputy leader and the chinese art troupe led by yin cheng-chung with shen shen as deputy leader.

present on the occasion were: abdulla el hassan, president of the national council for solidarity, friendship and peace, member of the s.s.u. political bureau and minister for the presidency of the republic; mahdi mustafa hadi, deputy president of the council, member of the s.s.u. political bureau and commissioner of the khartoum province; ahmed abdel halim, s.s.u. assistant general secretary for information and diplomacy; mansour khaled, member of the s.s.u. political bureau and minister of education; bashir abbadi, member of the s.s.u. political bureau and minister of transport and communications; as well as other government ministers and senior officials.

diplomatic envoys of a number of foreign countries here were also present.

deputy president of the council mahdi mustafa hadi and leader of the chinese government delegation fang yi spoke at the tea party, warmly praising the profound friendship between the chinese and sudanese peoples and the friendly relations and cooperation between the two governments.

the tea party proceeded in a friendly atmosphere.

Sudanese President Receives Chinese Government Delegation

(NCNA-English Khartoum, May 31, 1976)

sudanese president gaafar mohamed nimeri this morning received the chinese government delegation with minister of economic relations with foreign countries fang yi as leader and chinese ambassador to the sudan chang yueh as deputy leader, and had a cordial and friendly talk with them.

present on the occasion were sudanese minister for the presidency of the republic abdulla el hassan el khidir and minister of state for the presidency of the republic izzel din hamid.

sudanese first deputy president mohamed el baghir ahmed also received the delegation this morning.

in the past few days, from may 29 on, the chinese government delegation has called on speaker of the sudanese people's assembly rashid al tahir bakr, minister for the presidency of the republic abdulla el hassan el khidir, minister for foreign affairs mahgoub makawi, minister of transport and communications bashir abbadi and minister of state for the presidency of the republic izzel din hamid.

CHINA AND VIETNAM

Peking Banquet in Honor of Delegation from Vietnam

(NCNA-English Peking, May 30, 1976)

wu yu-hsun, vice-president of the chinese academy of sciences, entrusted by president of the academy kuo mo-jo, gave a banquet here this evening to warmly welcome a delegation of the state commission of sciences and technology and the commission of social sciences of viet nam.

delegation leader is le khac, vice-chairman of the state commission of sciences and technology of viet nam, and deputy leader is pham huy thong, president of the paleontology institute of viet nam.

among the guests at the banquet were nguyen trong vinh, ambassador of the democratic republic of viet nam to china, and vu ngoc ho, ambassador of the republic of south viet nam to china.

present were liu chung-yang, deputy secretary-general of the academy of sciences of china, hsia nai, director of the institute of archaeology of the chinese academy of sciences, and chiu li-hsing, deputy director of the asian affairs department of the foreign ministry.

the banquet proceeded in a warm and friendly atmosphere. wu yu-hsun and le khac toasted to the further consolidation and constant development of the revolutionary friendship and militant unity among the people and scientific workers of china and viet nam.

the delegation arrived in peking by train on may 28 for a friendly visit to china at the invitation of the chinese academy of sciences.

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* NATIONAL *
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CRITICISM OF REGULATIONS ON INDUSTRIAL MANAGEMENT

A Set of "Regulations" for Accelerating the Restoration of Capitalism

- Criticism of "Certain Problems Concerning the Acceleration of Industrial Development" concocted in accordance with Teng Hsiao-p'ing's suggestion

by

Lü Ta (吕达)

(Peking Jen-min Jih-pao, May 31, 1976)

In the summer and autumn of last year, the arch unrepentant capitalist-roader within the Party Teng Hsiao-p'ing inspired behind the back of the great leader Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee the concoction of a set of revisionist regulations on industrial management called "Certain Problems Concerning the Acceleration of Industrial Development" (called "Regulations" for short below). What is the purpose of Teng Hsiao-p'ing in bringing out these "Regulations"? Are they really for accelerating industrial development? No! These "Regulations" are for negating the excellent situation prevailing since the great cultural revolution and for the practice of reversal of verdicts and restoration on the industrial and communications fronts. When linked with the counter-revolutionary political incident which recently broke out at the T'ienanmen Square, the essence of this question has been even more clearly exposed. The aim of Teng Hsiao-p'ing is fundamentally not to accelerate industrial development, but to accelerate the restoration of capitalism.

Since Teng Hsiao-p'ing wants to restore capitalism in toto, he must incorporate all trades and lines of work into his orbit of "taking the three directives as the key link." The "preface" to and the "general principles" of the "Regulations" declare: For the sake of "realizing modernization in four fields," it is necessary to regard "taking the three directives as the key link"

as "the general program of the whole Party, the whole army and the whole country in all lines of work, and it is necessary to firmly grasp this general program in order to accelerate industrial development" in the next twenty-five years. This has thus fundamentally negated taking class struggle as the key link, and hence changed the basic line of the Party and led the cause of socialist construction astray.

The arch unrepentant capitalist-roader within the Party Teng Hsiao-p'ing was formerly the No. 2 of Liu Shao-ch'i's bourgeois headquarters. Prior to the great cultural revolution, he ganged up with Liu Shao-ch'i to push the revisionist enterprise-running line that was antagonistic to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. During the great proletarian cultural revolution, the broad masses of cadres and the working masses naturally criticized and repudiated all regulations of this revisionist enterprise-running line. In the storm, Teng Hsiao-p'ing pretended to make a self-examination and outwardly admitted his mistakes. Not long after he resumed work, he promptly went back on his words and inspired the concoction of these "Regulations."

These "Regulations" advocate the theory of the dying out of class struggle and theory of productive forces, peddle bourgeois economic ideas, and publicize the running of factories by experts, technology in command, omnipotence of a system, material incentives, dictatorship of rules and regulations, the slavish comprador philosophy, etc. They completely step into the shoes of Liu Shao-ch'i's revisionist enterprise-running line, and really have surpassed it and are in no way inferior to it. This fully shows that the promotion of these "Regulations" by Teng Hsiao-p'ing is for stubbornly pushing the counter-revolutionary revisionist line on the industrial and communications fronts, practicing reversal of verdicts and restoration on a large scale, and exercising bourgeois dictatorship over the working masses.

The "Regulations" Vigorously Advocate the Theory of the Dying Out of Class Struggle and the Theory of Productive Forces, Oppose the Carrying Out of Socialist Revolution in the Two Aspects of the Superstructure and the Economic Base, and Vainly Attempt To Change the Party's Basic Line and Restore Capitalism

The arch unrepentant capitalist-roader within the Party Teng Hsiao-p'ing is consistently opposed to Chairman Mao's teaching on class struggle as the key link. He says: "How can we remind ourselves of class struggle every day!" In accordance with Teng Hsiao-p'ing's intention, the "Regulations" do not refer to this key link of class struggle. They deny that the principal contradiction on the industrial and communications front is the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, and that consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat is the fundamental task of an enterprise. They put the development of the national economy in the position of the key link, and describe the socialist enterprises as merely "enterprises for production." The "Regulations" make every effort to attack the revolution launched by the proletariat in the realm of the superstructure of "bringing unrest to enterprises" and "sabotaging production." They attack the broad masses of cadres and the working masses who put revolution in command of production of "making high-sounding statements without doing practical work."

In the name of "putting in order" labor organization, they oppose socialist new things and arbitrarily call for "abolishing without exception" "the physical culture team, the literary and art propaganda team, the militia, the writing group, etc." The "Regulations" forbid people to criticize the reactionary theory of productive forces, and use eclectic tactics -- such as the suggestions that "it is quite incorrect" "to pay attention only to production" and that "it is also quite incorrect" "not to pay attention to production" -- to oppose putting proletarian politics in command and to negate the commanding role of proletarian politics over the economy.

Chairman Mao clearly and correctly points out: "The basic contradictions in socialist society are still those between the relations of production and the productive forces, and between the superstructure and the economic base." "Socialist relations of production have been established; they are suited to the development of the productive forces, but they are still far from perfect, and their imperfect aspects stand in contradiction to the development of the productive forces. There is conformity as well as contradiction between the relations of production and the development of the productive forces; similarly, there is conformity as well as contradiction between the superstructure and the economic base."

These basic contradictions find concentrated expression in the contradiction and struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie as well as the contradiction and struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road. Chairman Mao's incisive analysis of the dialectical relations between the relations of production and the productive forces and between the superstructure and the economic base in socialist society has clearly pointed out the orientation of socialist revolution and socialist construction in China and laid down the theoretical foundation for the policy of "grasping revolution and promoting production."

The proletariat always pays great attention to the development of productive forces, but it also holds that politics is the concentrated expression of economics, and that compared with economics, politics cannot but occupy the first place. The development of socialist productive forces is realized in the process of constantly reforming the relations of production and the superstructure. It is necessary to persistently put proletarian politics in command and properly grasp production before a broad road can be opened for the development of productive forces.

Although socialist transformation in the aspect of ownership of the means of production has been carried through in the main in China, problems are not completely resolved. Bourgeois rights are still not entirely abolished in the aspect of ownership; they are still serious in the aspect of relations between people and occupy the dominant position in the aspect of distribution. In the various spheres of the superstructure, some sectors are still under the control of the bourgeoisie. The bourgeoisie is still in a dominant position, and the old ideology and old force of habit are still very strong. We must persistently continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, reform the part of the superstructure not in conformity with the economic base, reform the portion of relations of production impeding the development of the productive forces, bring the enthusiasm of the

broad masses of the people for socialism into play, and push the cause of socialist construction forward.

In the great proletarian cultural revolution and movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, there has been vigorous development in the mass movement to study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung thought, and the ranks of worker-theorists have sturdily grown to maturity. The active participation of the worker-militia in the struggle for the defense of the motherland and in class struggle in society, the learning of the broad masses of workers to sing model revolutionary theatrical works and the participation of cadres in labor have become a common practice, and mass physical cultural activities are extensively developed. This large number of socialist new things have criticized and restricted bourgeois rights, improved the mutual relations between people, stirred up the revolutionary spirit, and enabled factories and enterprises to enjoy greater and greater prosperity in production and become the battlefront for consolidating the dictatorhsip of the proletariat.

At the time of criticizing Teng Hsiao-p'ing, Chairman Mao sharply pointed out, "This person does not grasp class struggle; he has never referred to this key link. Still his theme of 'white cat, black cat,' making no distinction between imperialism and Marxism." Flaunting the signboards of "developing production" and "achieving modernization in four fields," Teng Hsiao-p'ing wanted to extinguish the proletariat's class struggle against the bourgeoisie by making people engross themselves in grasping production and construction without paying attention to state affairs, so that the bourgeoisie inside and outside the Party could catch people napping and restore capitalism.

Chairman Mao said, "What is the great cultural revolution for? To wage class struggle. Liu Shao-ch'i advocated the theory of the dying out of class struggle, but he himself never ceased to wage class struggle. He wanted to protect his bunch of renegades and sworn followers. Lin Piao wanted to overthrow the proletariat and attempted a coup. Did class struggle die out?" The counter-revolutionary political incident which recently broke out at the T'ienanmen Square has fully bared Teng Hsiao-p'ing's devious intention in falsely calling for "the realization of modernization in four fields" and genuinely attempting to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The "Regulations" Disavow the Excellent Situation That Has Appeared on the Industrial and Communications Fronts Since the Great Cultural Revolution, Reverse the Verdicts of and Settle Scores with the Great Cultural Revolution, and Want the Capitalist-Roaders To Usurp Leadership and Take Control Once Again in Enterprises and To Change the Nature of Socialist Enterprises

After the arch unrepentant capitalist-roader within the Party Teng Hsiao-p'ing resumed work, he portrayed the excellent situation on the industrial and communications fronts as a mass of pitch darkness, and hurriedly pushed the counter-revolutionary revisionist line for the all-round restoration of capitalism on all fronts, including the industrial and communications fronts.

He first riveted his eyes on leadership. A revisionist organizational line ran through the "Regulations" concocted at his suggestion. The "Regulations" opposed the centralized leadership of the Party and the revolutionary "three-in-one combination" leading bodies, and alleged that those "unreformed petty-intellectuals and 'brave ones' in power" "are very dangerous." Putting on the airs of the bourgeois lord who schemed for an independent kingdom in those years, he swung the cudgel of "rectification" and wanted to knock down all the old, middle-aged and young cadres who adhered to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line--especially the revolutionary new forces emerging in the great cultural revolution. Meanwhile, he wanted to give important leading posts to all those who were said to be "strong in Party spirit" and "most experienced." Those "unreformed petty-intellectuals" and "brave ones" referred precisely to those proletarian revolutionaries who worked against the revisionist line pushed by them. Those said to be "strong in Party spirit" and "most experienced" referred to none other than those unrepentant capitalist-roaders who were dissatisfied with the great cultural revolution and wanted to settle scores with it. How clearcut was Teng Hsiao-p'ing's stand for reversal of verdicts and restoration as revealed by such praises and disparagements.

At the 1st Plenum of the 9th Party Central Committee Chairman Mao had this to say: "It seems that it won't do not to carry out the great proletarian cultural revolution, for our foundation is not solid. Judging from my observations, I am afraid that in a fairly large majority of factories--I don't mean all or the overwhelming majority of them--leadership was not in the hands of the genuine Marxists and the masses of workers. Not that there were no good people among those in charge of the factories. There were. There were good people among the secretaries, deputy secretaries and members of Party committees and among Party branch secretaries. But they were following the line of Liu Shao-ch'i--simply resorting to material incentives, putting profits in command, and instead of promoting proletarian politics, handing out bonuses, and so forth."

Why had a number of factories and enterprises changed their nature to varying extents before the great proletarian cultural revolution? Why was it that some departments made no progress for a long time in production? The most important reason was that the leadership in these units carried out the revisionist line, and in some cases leadership was even in the hands of a handful of capitalist-roaders. Power in the hands of capitalist-roaders meant power in the hands of the bourgeoisie. With power in their hands, they went all out to push the revisionist line and to strengthen and extend bourgeois rights in a vain attempt to change the nature of socialist enterprises.

After the great proletarian cultural revolution, the broad masses of workers criticized Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao's counter-revolutionary revisionist lines and seized back the part of power usurped by them. A large number of steeled workers took part in leading bodies based on the "three-in-one combination" of the old, the middle-aged and the young. Under the centralized leadership of the Party, these new cadres from the forefront of production united as one with the veteran cadres who adhered to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. They wholeheartedly relied on the working class, consciously criticized and restricted bourgeois rights, and brought into play to the

fullest extent the socialist enthusiasm of the broad working masses, thus bringing about a new situation in which all lines of work in the socialist enterprises were teeming with life and vitality.

However, the unrepentant capitalist-roaders within the Party have not given up hope, and are not reconciled to the loss of that part of power once usurped by them. They think at all times in terms of reversal of verdicts and restoration. "The capitalist-roaders are still on the capitalist road."

The set of "Regulations" for "accelerating industrial development" makes no mention of opposition to capitalist-roaders. No reference is made to the fact that revisionism is still the main danger on the industrial and communications fronts. This is definitely not a matter of accidental negligence. It precisely shows that Teng Hsiao-p'ing has a guilty conscience. He is the political representative of the bourgeoisie, and is the commander of all social forces and social groups which are antagonistic to the socialist revolution, are hostile to and disruptive of socialist construction, and are engaged in a test of strength with the proletariat. How could there be any mention of the question of capitalist-roaders in the "Regulations" concocted at his suggestion?!

The "Regulations" Proceed from Idealist Conception of History, Look Upon the Laboring People As the "Ignorant Masses," Negate the Status of the Working Class As the Master of the House, and Exercise Bourgeois Dictatorship Over the Working Masses

At the 2nd Plenum of the 7th Party Central Committee, Chairman Mao clearly and correctly pointed out that "it is imperative to wholeheartedly rely on the working class." After the founding of the People's Republic of China, Chairman Mao repeatedly taught us: "In the socialist revolution and socialist construction, we must firmly adhere to the mass line, boldly arouse the masses and launch mass movements on a large scale." During the great cultural revolution, Chairman Mao further pointed out: "The working class must exercise leadership in everything."

The arch unrepentant capitalist-roader within the Party Teng Hsiao-p'ing is antagonistic to Chairman Mao's consistent teachings, and he claims that "reliance on workers, peasants and soldiers is relative." The "Regulations" merely emphasize "reorganization of enterprise management" and publicize "the omnipotence of the system." They use the terms of "strict control," "prohibition without exception," "rigorous enforcement" and "absolutely disallowed" left and right in a vain attempt to bring out once again bourgeois control, strangulation and repression which had been criticized during the great cultural revolution to fetter the working masses hand and foot.

It is not true that socialist enterprises have no need of rules and regulations, but the question lies in what rules and regulations are needed. Rules and regulations have class character. The proletarian system of enterprise management should be summed up by the working masses with experience acquired in practical struggle. The rules and regulations we want must be beneficial to consolidating the leading status of the working class,

beneficial to bringing the socialist enthusiasm of the working masses into play, beneficial to the development of the socialist economy, and beneficial to carrying out to the letter the task of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat down to the grassroots units. But the object of Teng Hsiao-p'ing in making rules and regulations is for controlling and repressing the masses and fettering them hand and foot. Anyone who violates their "laws" is given all kinds of "punishment." In essence, this is the practice of ruthless bourgeois dictatorship over the working masses.

The "Regulations" also take material incentive as an important means in the practice of such dictatorship, and use money and material to corrupt the soul of the working masses, to smother their revolutionary spirit, to undermine the unity of the working class and to transform the relationship between people into the capitalist relationship between the employer and the hired, or a monetary relationship. Teng Hsiao-p'ing also opposes Chairman Mao's call for bringing into play the initiative from two sources--the central and local authorities. Flaunting the banner of "rectification," he reintroduces the dictatorship of rules and regulations.

The "Regulations" negate the excellent situation prevailing since the great cultural revolution after delegating the control of enterprises to the lower levels. Under the excuse that "enterprises delegated to the lower levels cannot be left uncontrolled," they one-sidedly emphasize centralization and unification, devise all ways and means to strangle local initiative, and attempt to "control rigidly" the enterprises delegated to the lower levels, "unify rigidly" the national economic plan and "rigidly smother" local initiative.

During the great proletarian cultural revolution, the broad masses of cadres and workers seriously implemented the "Constitution of the Anshan Iron and Steel Company," and created many fresh experiences. The working class daily revealed the enormous role of the revolutionary leading class. Large numbers of workers' propaganda teams occupied various spheres of the superstructure, thus breaking up the unified empire of the bourgeois intellectuals and exercising all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie. The broad masses of workers criticized and restricted bourgeois rights, and together with the leading cadres, they jointly controlled the line, grasped major issues and directly participated in enterprise management, thus enabling the enterprises to constantly push forward along Chairman Mao's revolutionary line.

Teng Hsiao-p'ing deeply realized that the stronger was the position of the working masses as the masters, the more difficult it would be for him to push the counter-revolutionary revisionist line. Therefore, he bitterly hated this great beginning of the working masses. As he saw it, they no longer behaved like workers but were simply practicing "anarchy" and "doing mischief" "without tending to their proper calling."

Lenin once said, "In the concept of the bourgeois world outlook, politics appears to have been cut off from the economy. The bourgeoisie says: Peasants, if you want to stay alive, you have to work. Workers, if you

want to get hold of all daily necessities from society and stay alive, you have to work, and leave the control of politics in the economic sector to your masters. This is actually not true because politics should be the business of the people and the business of the proletariat." ("Speech at the All-Russia Work Conference of Provincial and County National Education Departments and Political Education Committees," Selected Works of Lenin, Vol. IV, p. 370) Teng Hsiao-p'ing is precisely this kind of bourgeois lord who does not allow the workers to show interest in politics as criticized by Lenin.

Teng Hsiao-p'ing is very cocky in front of the working masses and puts on the haughty airs of a high official and overlord, but in front of the bourgeoisie, he puts on a humiliating and slavish look. The "Regulations" concocted at his suggestion on the one hand make every effort to publicize the need to rely on a few bourgeois "experts" and "authorities," and advocate the management of factories by experts and technology in command. They say that in order to realize "modernization in our fields," it is necessary to rely on so-called "trained personnel well versed with technology and vocational work." Teng Hsiao-p'ing also says that even the White experts also "should be taken good care of and praised." Look, how considerate Teng Hsiao-p'ing is to the bourgeois "experts" and "authorities" and how he goes all out to exercise bourgeois dictatorship over the working masses. How clearcut his bourgeois stand and world outlook are! On the other hand, Teng Hsiao-p'ing openly advocates that we should pin our hopes for developing production and science and technology on the bourgeoisie of other countries. The "Regulations" say that in order to realize "modernization in four fields," China must rely on introducing a greater number of "advanced techniques from other countries" and rely on other countries for supply of "complete sets of modern equipment." They slander self-reliance as "megalomania and isolationism." Teng Hsiao-p'ing advertises the trash of slavish comprador philosophy and national betrayal as a most reliable "major policy."

If things were carried out along his line, wouldn't China become a market for the imperialist and social-imperialist countries to dump their merchandise, a raw-material base, and a satellite to international capital? Once economic dependence is lost, there can never be political independence. The Chinese people suffered deeply from this in history. From the chieftains in foreign relations of the Manchu Dynasty such as Li Hung-chang and Tseng Kuo-fan to the public enemy Chiang Kai-shek, they all handed over the territory, sovereignty and economic pulse of the fatherland to imperialism without putting up a fight under the pretext of "self-strengthening" and "construction." History is a mirror. Stepping into the shoes of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao, he wildly opposes the great policy of "maintaining independence, taking the initiative in our own hands and relying on our own efforts" formulated by Chairman Mao and taking our own road in industrial development. Isn't it very clear whither he wants to lead China?

"Reversing verdicts goes against the will of people." The concoction of this set of "Regulaions" at the suggestion of Teng Hsiao-p'ing, the arch unrepentant capitalist-roader within the Party, for carrying out reversal of verdicts and restoration on the industrial and communications fronts is bound to arouse strong opposition from the broad masses of cadres and workers.

The "Regulations" are a good teaching material by negative example. We must make full use of this teaching material by negative example, take Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung thought as a sharp weapon to deeply criticize Teng Hsiao-p'ing and the counter-revolutionary revisionist line pushed by him, criticize it penetratingly and thoroughly, win new victories in the counter-attack against the Right-deviation wind to reverse verdicts, grasp revolution and promote production, and push forward in ever more powerful waves the mass movement to learn from Tach'ing in industry.

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T'IENANMEN SQUARE INCIDENT

Use Revolutionary Public Opinion To Shatter Counter-Revolutionary Public Opinion

by

T'ien Lan-yu (田兰玉) and Liu Chin-hui (刘金辉)
People's Police of the Public Security Bureau of Peking Municipality

(Peking Jen-min Jih-pao, May 8, 1976)

Our great leader Chairman Mao points out, "To overthrow a political power, it is always necessary first of all to create public opinion, to do work in the ideological sphere. This is true for the revolutionary class aswell as for the counter-revolutionary class." Through studying Chairman Mao's brilliant statement and reviewing our participation in the fight to smash the T'ienanmen Square counter-revolutionary political incident, we have come to realize even more deeply that in the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the propaganda of revolutionary truth, the diligent creation of revolutionary public opinion and the shattering of counter-revolutionary public opinion are of great significance to the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the prevention of capitalist restoration.

The Right-deviation wind vigorously whipped up by Teng Hsiao-p'ing began from the creation of counter-revolutionary public opinion. Counter-revolutionary public opinion also formed the replude to the counter-revolutionary political incident stirred up by a handful of desperadoes at T'ienanmen Square. At the same time, they also used the methods of beating up people and burning and smashing things to boycott the revolutionary public opinion which disclosed and criticized their crimes. From Teng Hsiao-p'ing to this group of counter-revolutionary rioters, all used the means of calling black white, confusing right and wrong and sheer fabrication to create rumors for confusing the masses. Their spearhead of attack was directed at our great leader Chairman Mao, the Party Central Committee headed by him and his revolutionary line. Their sinful purpose was to create a political "climate" for their counter-revolutionary restoration activities, to detect the opportunity for usurping leadership and seizing power in the Party, to radically change the Party's basic line and policies and to restore capitalism in our country. This makes us understand better that the struggle between revolutionary public opinion and counter-revolutionary public opinion is an important component of the struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines.

As we of the People's Police shoulder the important responsibility of defending the dictatorship of the proletariat, we absolutely cannot tolerate the restoration activities of a handful of counter-revolutionaries, and strictly forbid their using the freedom of speech for counter-revolutionary purposes.

On April 5, when a handful of counter-revolutionaries began to storm the stately People's Great Hall, we at once sent a broadcasting van with loudspeakers to propagate Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung thought, and expose the intrigues and plots of a handful of class enemies. Hearing the revolutionary propaganda, that gang of desperate and low-spirited rioters swarmed around the broadcasting van. They first used threats and intimidation, and following this, they overturned the van and smashed it as well as the loudspeaker. This laid bare their heinous features and feeble essence.

Why are the class enemies so afraid of revolutionary public opinion? This is because they belong to the reactionary class on the decline, and have neither truth nor the masses on their side. They look tough but are scared at heart. They can only rely on spreading lies and rumors to carry out their deathbed struggle. Therefore, they are extremely afraid of the revolutionary people bringing to light their rumors and baring their true identity for restoration and regression.

We can clearly see that, the abominable act of a handful of counter-revolutionaries at T'ienanmen Square was entirely a vicious development of the Right-deviation wind to reverse verdicts and fabricate political rumors initiated by Teng Hsiao-p'ing around last summer. Last year, when Teng Hsiao-p'ing inspired the concoction of the article, "On the General Program for All Kinds of Work in the Whole Party and the Whole Country," he smugly claimed that this was a "blow" of counter-revolutionary public opinion struck at the proletariat. This time, the handful of counter-revolutionaries used the "fist" of counter-revolutionary public opinion as well as the "fist" of counter-revoutionary violence to launch an unbridled attack against the proletariat, in a vain attempt to cast Teng Hsiao-p'ing as China's Nagy and to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat for the restoration of capitalism. This clearly disclosed that they looked upon Teng Hsiao-p'ing as the general representative of the restoration forces, while Teng Hsiao-p'ing relied on them as the social foundation and supporting force for him to usurp leadership and seize power in the Party.

Marx and Engels pointed out, "To deal with all these intrigues and plots, there is only one means which is of destructive power. This is to expose them thoroughly. To expose these intrigues and plots thoroughly means to strip them of their power." ("The Socialist Democratic League and the International Workers Association," Collected Works of Marx and Engels, Vol. XVIII, p. 372) This is precisely so in reality.

When we openly exposed the intrigues and plots of the handful of class enemies, they became panic-stricken and landed in total isolation. The broad masses of workers, militiamen and revolutionary masses also stepped out to fervently propagate and courageously defend Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung thought. Speaking sternly for the cause of justice, they indignantly denounced this group of counter-revolutionary rioters. This vividly bore out that the revolutionary public opinion had defeated the counter-revolutionary public opinion, and nullified its function to confuse people.

Through the struggle to smash the T'ienanmen Square counter-revolutionary political incident, we further understand the extreme importance of using revolutionary public opinion to defeat counter-revolutionary public opinion. We must make full use of all propaganda tools and all forms of

public opinion to propagate Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung thought, and to create revolutionary public opinion so that Chairman Mao's revolutionary line can go deeper into the hearts of people and the broad masses can grasp tightly the sharp weapon for combating and preventing revisionism. At present in the new surging tide to deepen the criticism of Teng Hsiao-p'ing, to hit back at the Right-deviation wind to reverse verdicts and to track down the counter-revolutionaries, we must pay special attention to the propaganda of a series of important instructions of Chairman Mao's, fully mobilize the broad mass to make concentrated criticism of Teng Hsiao-p'ing's counter-revolutionary revisionist line, firmly shatter all counter-revolutionary public opinions, strengthen the all-round dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie and win even greater victories.

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Angrily Denounce Counter-Revolutionary Sinister Poems

by

the Mass Criticism Group of Ch'inhuangtao Harbor-Construction Command

(Peking Jen-min Jih-pao, May 8, 1976)

Our great leader Chairman Mao has sparply pointed out, "The use of the novel for anti-Party activity is quite an invention." The use of reactionary poems to carry out counter-revolutionary activities is the clumsy tactics of a handful of class enemies who stirred up the T'ienanmen Square counter-revolutionary political incident.

As ideological works of literature and art in class society, poems and ballads always reflect the will of a definite class, express the sentiments of a definite class and serve a definite class and its political line. A handful of class enemies who were actually a gang of desperadoes, all of a sudden, developed a "fancy for poetry." They amused themselves with writing, wagged their tongues, "wailed" and "lamented," and audaciously uttered in despair the mournful cries of the decadent and fallen class. Using the same counter-revolutionary language as that of Lin Piao's plan for a counter-revolutionary coup d'etat entitled "Outline of Project '571'," they insinuatingly directed the spearhead of attack at our great leader Chairman Mao, the Party Central Committee headed by him, and his revolutionary line. At the same time, they openly eulogized Teng Hsiao-p'ing's virtues and achievements, cast him in the role of China's Nagy, and vainly attempted to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat for the restoration of capitalism. What a "raising our eyebrows, we unsheathe our swords"! What a "we fear not shedding our blood and laying down our lives"! All of them baldly voiced their counter-revolutionary intentions and their opposition to the Party, the people and socialism.

This kind of repulsive performances had been staged before. Counter-revolutionary Hu Feng once ferociously declared his intention to use counter-revolutionary literature and art as "a rubber-coated steel-wire whip for beating up prisoners" and to "part with" his counter-revolutionary head so as to "crush the iron wall" of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Quite a number of bourgeois rightists, when attacking the Party, also used poems and ballads against the Party. Lin Piao, the ambitious counter-revolutionary who knew nothing about poems and ballads, actually chanted the line about "taking temporary shelter" of The Romance of the Three Kingdoms in order to express his ambition for usurping leadership and seizing power in the Party. Harboring the intention to reverse history, he sang the tune of "firmly believing" in Marxism and Leninism. However, be they Hu Feng, the counter-revolutionary, or Lin Piao, the chieftain of the revisionist line or Teng Hsiao-p'ing, the general representative of this handful of desperadoes, they could never escape the fate of failure, whether they cursed with poems and ballads or bowled mournfully.

The counter-revolutionaries use poems and ballads as a tool to attack the proletariat, while the revolutionaries similarly use poems and ballads as their weapon to wage struggle against the class enemies. The Internationale written by the great poet E. Pottier of the working class inspired the proletariat and revolutionary people of the whole world to rise up in struggle against the capitalist old world. Lu Hsün, the commanding general of China's cultural revolution, wrote in the midst of counter-revolutionary White Terror the militant lines: "Restraining my grief, I see my friends lay down their lives; in anger, I look for poems in the grove of swords," which encouraged the reactionary people to advance bravely against the dark forces.

Our great leader Chairman Mao in the course of leading the struggle of new democratic revolution and socialist revolution, wrote many brilliant and magnificent poems, which became the revolutionary people's sharp weapons. The "Two Poems" published on New Year's Day are precisely the guiding lights for us to combat and prevent revisionism and continue the revolution. They inspire us to carry through to the end the struggle to criticize Teng Hsiao-p'ing, hit back at the Right-deviation wind to reverse verdicts and track down the counter-revolutionaries. Therefore, revolutionary literature and art, including the revolutionary poems and ballads are a component of the entire revolutionary apparatus of the proletariat, as well as "the powerful weapon for uniting and educating the people, and for attacking and wiping out the enemy."

We workers, peasants and soldiers are the masters of the country as well as the masters of revolutionary literature and art. The broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, guide by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and with the pen as the gun, write a profusion of revolutionary poems and ballads to angrily denounce and criticize the counter-revolutionary crimes of Teng Hsiao-p'ing and a handful of class enemies. The revolutionary poems are like cannon balls fired one after another on the old base of capitalism to hit at the bourgeoisie inside and outside the Party. Let the petty thieves weep. We shall rush toward communism with the song of triumph on our lips.

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BAREFOOT DOCTORS

On the "Theory of Barefoot Doctors Wearing Shoes"

by

the Mass Criticism Group of Peking Municipal
Bureau of Public Health

(Peking Jen-min Jih-pao, April 1, 1976)

In whipping up the Right-deviation wind to reverse verdicts, that unrepentant capitalist-roader within the Party has not spared Chairman Mao's revolutionary line as a target of attack. Part of his absurd arguments consists in the following fallacies: "Barefoot doctors start out with scant knowledge and are only capable of treating certain common diseases. After a few years, they will put on straw sandals, which means they have gained more knowledge. After a few more years, they will put on cloth shoes." This "theory of barefoot doctors wearing shoes" is a revisionist fallacy through and through. It is an offshoot of his revisionist program of "taking the three directives as the key link." Its essence is to negate the revolution in health service and reverse the verdict on Liu Shao-ch'is revisionist line. In the great struggle to beat back the Right-deviation wind to reverse verdicts, we must apply Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung thought in penetratingly criticizing these fallacies, further carry out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and adhere to the correct orientation of revolution in health service.

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As early as September 1968, the great leader Chairman Mao personally commented on the investigation report, "The Orientation of the Revolution in Medical Education Viewed in Light of the Growth of 'Barefoot Doctors'," supporting and affirming the barefoot-doctor road. Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's brilliant thinking, such a socialist new thing as the system of barefoot doctors has rapidly developed and grown sturdily like the seedlings after a spring rain and spread to every part of the vast motherland. At present, the whole country has over 1,300,000 barefoot doctors. Barefoot doctors have become a brand-new force full of vitality on the medical and health front in our country and a main force for unfolding the revolution in health service. It has played a tremendous role in thoroughly carrying out Chairman Mao's brilliant "June 26" directive, changing the outlook of the countryside marked by shortage of doctors and medical supplies and restricting bourgeois rights.

As we know, on the medical and health front, there has existed all along a heated struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines. Since the founding of the new China, there has been an acute struggle between Chairman Mao's revolutionary health line and Liu Shao-ch'i's revisionist health line. The essence of struggle is whether or not we should persist in exercising the all-round dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie.

That unrepentant capitalist-roader within the Party not only participated in formulating Liu Shao-ch'i's revisionist health line but also vigorously pushed it. This revisionist health line put the medical and health undertakings only in the service of a few urban overlords. The broad masses of medical workers and workers and peasants were very dissatisfied with it.

On June 26, 1965, the great leader Chairman Mao gave an extremely important directive on health work and issued the great call, "In medical and health work, put the emphasis on the countryside." Chairman Mao's brilliant "June 26" directive was an effective criticism of Liu Shao-ch'i's revisionist health line and set the course of medical and health work correct. In the great proletarian cultural revolution, the broad masses bravely rose to criticize Liu Shao-ch'i's counter-revolutionary revisionist line. The criticism implied criticism of that unrepentant capitalist-roader within the Party. When under fire in the mass struggle, he promised to "repent" and "never reverse the verdicts." But as his bourgeois stand never changed, this "promise" of his proved to be unreliable. Thus, after he resumed work, he vigorously practiced reversal of verdicts and restoration. His "theory of barefoot doctors wearing shoes" is a great exposure of his bourgeois stand.

Such a socialist new thing as the system of barefoot doctors has put into practice Chairman Mao's great call, "In medical and health work, put the emphasis on the countryside." That unrepentant capitalist-roader within the Party attacked the system of barefoot doctors, and directed the spearhead at Chairman Mao's "June 26" directive. We know that the rural population accounts for over 80 percent of the total population of our country and that for a long period before the great cultural revolution, shortage of doctors and medical supplies had been felt in the countryside. As early as the period of the new democratic revolution, Chairman Mao pointed out, "If divorced from the 360 million peasants, would not the so-called national health be mostly empty talk?" This directive showed the direction for health work. "In medical and health work, put the emphasis on the countryside" -- this is a profound revolution for the proletariat to triumph over the bourgeoisie on the health front and also a protracted and arduous combat task in the field of public health. To adhere to the correct orientation of revolution in health service and properly carry out medical and health work in the countryside in accord with Chairman Mao's instructions -- this is of extremely great significance in consolidating the worker-peasant alliance, gradually narrowing the three major differences and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is very clear that whoever opposes putting the emphasis on the countryside in medical and health work is against the revolution in health service and against Chairman Mao's revolutionary health line and seeks to reverse the verdicts on Liu Shao-ch'i's revisionist line. On this major problem bearing on the orientation of the whole health effort, we must keep a very clear head and can never allow any person to negate the great fruits of the revolution in health service or negate the correct orientation of revolution in health service under any pretext.

II

The system of barefoot doctors spells the great beginning of the reliance on collective strength by the poor and lower-middle peasants in the great cultural revolution to wage struggle against diseases and is a replendent flower blooming in the process of the vigorous development of the health revolution. It has played an important role in rapidly changing the outlook of the countryside marked by shortage of doctors and medical supplies in giving impetus to the movement for "learning from Tachai in agriculture" and especially in restricting bourgeois rights, consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and gradually narrowing the three major differences. Barefoot doctors come from among the poor and lower-middle peasants and have profound class feelings for the poor and lower-middle peasants. They have carried forward the revolutionary spirit of finding merit in "going barefoot." They are not divorced from labor physically and are not divorced from the masses mentally. They not only think in terms of serving the people but also have the ability to serve the people, and are warmly welcomed by the poor and lower-middle peasants. The masses praise them as "persons close to our hearts who serve our needs, who merit our trust and whose services we can afford." Such a socialist new thing as the barefoot doctor has a strong vitality, vividly embodying the system of making the working people gain knowledge and making the intellectuals perform manual labor.

But as far as that unrepentant Party capitalist-roader whose head is full of the idea of bourgeois rights is concerned, it is preposterous that a doctor should go barefoot. In his eyes, "those with their legs covered with mud" can only perform physical labor and till land, and the medical profession can only be taken up by a small number of mental workers. How preposterous it is for "those with their legs covered with mud" to break into the field of medicine and health, once the "hereditary territory" of the bourgeoisie! According to his logic, those whose legs are covered with mud cannot become doctors. After they have acquired knowledge and become doctors, they must not go barefoot. This is an aristocratic lord's attitude through and through.

One most important point about barefoot doctors is that its merit lies in "going barefoot" and in playing a positive role in restricting bourgeois rights. That unrepentant Party capitalist-roader's "theory of barefoot doctors wearing shoes" indicates that he is a champion of bourgeois rights.

Chairman Mao recently pointed out: "With the socialist revolution they themselves come under fire. At the time of the cooperative transformation of agriculture, there were people in the Party who opposed it, and when it comes to criticizing bourgeois rights, they resent it. You are making the socialist revolution, and yet don't know where the bourgeoisie is. It is right in the Communist Party -- those in power taking the capitalist road. The capitalist-roaders are still on the capitalist road." This important directive of Chairman Mao's has most profoundly revealed the bourgeois stand taken by that unrepentant capitalist-roader in upholding bourgeois rights.

The existence of bourgeois rights provides an important economic base for breeding the new bourgeoisie. To push his revisionist line and restore capitalism, those in power within the Party taking the capitalist road always vigorously try to uphold and extend bourgeois rights. That the unrepentant capitalist-roader with the Party attacks the system of barefoot doctors and opposes the criticism of bourgeois rights and of the idea of bourgeois rights, including those in the field of health, is prompted by a desire to meet his need of pushing the revisionist health line. But, those trying to resist the tide of history will fail in the end. The rolling currents of the health revolution are rushing forward. That unrepentant capitalist-roader within the Party is once again criticized by the people of the whole country: this shows that "reversing verdicts goes against the will of people" and that none can reverse the general trend that the people want revolution and history is going forward.

III

That unrepentant capitalist-roader within the Party says, "Barefoot doctors start out with scant knowledge and are capable of only treating certain common diseases. After a few years, they will put on straw sandals, which means they have gained more knowledge. After a few more years they will put on cloth shoes." This not only is an attack and slander against such a socialist new thing as the system of barefoot doctor, but also embodies a sinister design. Under the pretext of using one's knowledge as the yardstick, he attempts to lead the barefoot doctors down the evil revisionist road. Here, he negates the revolutionary spirit of finding merit in "going barefoot" and negates the political role played by barefoot doctors in the revolution in health service as well as in the whole strugle to combat revisionism and prevent-revisionism. According to his way of interpretation, after acquiring more knowledge, barefoot doctors should change the revolutionary features of "going barefoot." From this, it can be seen that his "theory of barefoot doctors wearing shoes" is one and the same thing as "whipping up a vocational typhoon" or "economic typhoon" and is a reflection of the theory of the dying out of class struggle and the theory of productive forces on the health front.

In socialist society, there are still classes, class contradictions and class struggle. This is an objective law independent of man's will. Such a socialist new thing as the system of barefoot doctor has come into being and developed in the storms of the struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines. When those whose legs are covered with mud become doctors and the poor and lower-middle peasants exercise power over medicine and health in the countryside, the class enemies are not reconciled to this and will always sabotage same and make trouble by every conceivable means. Facts show that the struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines has never ceased over the questions of how to treat such a socialist new thing as the barefoot doctor. The barefoot doctors play the political role as an active force for strengthening the struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and strengthening the all-round dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie in the medical and health field. Therefore, only by taking class struggle as the key link, putting proletarian politics in command and carrying forward the revolutionary spirit of finding

merit in "going barefoot" can we enable the ranks of barefoot doctors to grow continuously and develop, can we give full play to the major role of barefoot doctors. This is a demand that must be met in carrying out Chairman Mao's revolutionary health line and is also a fundamental experience acquired by our barefoot doctors in the course of their growth and development over the past few years.

That unrepentant capitalist-roader within the Party advertises the "theory of barefoot doctors wearing shoes." He negates proletarian politics, not because he does not want politics. He ngates the struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie not because he does not want class struggle. Under the pretext of raising the level of knowledge and skill, he merely attempts to lead barefoot doctors down the "white-and-expert" road, change the revolutionary features of the barefoot doctors, negate Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and reverse the verdict on the revisionist line. Is this not bourgeois politics through and through? Our barefoot doctors have grown to maturity under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and must advance along the road charted by Chairman Mao. That unrepentant capitalist-roader within the Party is indulging in daydreams when he tries to lead our barefoot doctors down the evil revisionist road.

The proletarian revolution in health service is an important component of the socialist revolution. The task of the proletariat on the health front is an arduous one. We must persist in taking class struggle as the key link, adhere to the Party's basic line, conscientiously study works by Marx and Lenin and by Chairman Mao, energetically support and develop socialist new things in the health field, criticize Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao's revisionist line, beat back the Right-deviation wind to reverse verdicts whipped up by that unrepentant capitalist-roader within the Party and strive for continuous implementation of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line.

* * *

Distortion With an Ulterior Object in View

by

Sha Ch'ing (沙 晴)

(Peking Jen-min Jih-pao, April 1, 1976)

The system of barefoot doctors is a socialist new thing that has emerged in the great proletarian cultural revolution. Carrying medicine kits on their backs barefoot doctors can treat diseases; picking up the hoes they can till land. They are both doctors and commune members. They are deeply welcomed by the poor and lower-middle peasants. The merit of barefoot doctors lies in their "going barefoot." This is of clearcut revolutionary significance. However, that unrepentant capitalist-roader within the Party makes a distortion with an ulterior object in view. He says that barefoot doctors have "scant knowledge" but "will put on straw sandals when gaining more knowledge after a few years and will put on cloth shoes after a few more years." With a few words, he has completely obliterated the revolutionary significance of "barefoot."

That unrepentant capitalist-roader within the Party obliterates the revolutionary significance of barefoot doctors. This is a vain attempt to take bourgeois rights as a bait to lure the barefoot doctors away from the correct political orientation and from the countryside, collective productive labor and the poor and lower-middle peasants, and to seek so-called knowledge, "straw sandals," "cloth shoes" and "leather shoes," in other words, to become doctors divorced from production and "doctors of renown." His talk about "straw sandals" and "cloth shoes" is a manifestation of his revisionist line on the question of medicine and health.

The point at issue we have with him over the question of barefoot doctors is not one concerning "terms" but one concerning the Marxist line and the revisionist line. According to Chairman Mao's revolutionary health line, we should put the emphasis on medical and health work in the countryside and serve the broad masses of poor and lower-middle peasants and serve the great majority. Thus, the countryside must introduce cooperative medical service and train barefoot doctors. The urban medical personnel must go to the countryside, treat and prevent diseases for the poor and lower-middle peasants and receive re-education from the poor and lower-middle peasants. What that unrepentant capitalist-roader within the Party advocates is the very opposite of this. He still wants to practice what had been practiced by the urban health department for overlords before the great cultural revolution and to push the revisionist health line.

Toward revolutionary new things, the bourgeoisie suppresses whatever it can suppress and will guide whatever it cannot suppress to the evil road and to the bourgeois road. This is true of that unrepentant capitalist-roader within the Party. When barefoot doctors first came into being they were subjected to every suppression by the revisionist health line formulated with his participation. Like people of Tu Wen-chieh's type in Ch'un Miao, he enkindled all kinds of sinister fire and wanted to burn to ashes this young

shoot. But "the prairie fire cannot burn out everything, and when the spring wind blows again, life will return." In the spring wind of the great cultural revolution, barefoot doctors have grown up more rapidly and spread over all parts of the countryside. It is not so easy to further suppress them. Therefore, the tactic of "inducement" is employed.

To regard barefoot doctors as without knowledge is of course an absurd and malicious disparagement. Knowledge comes from practice and from the masses. We don't have to talk about the rich knowledge of class struggle and production struggle acquired by more than 1,300,000 barefoot doctors, and in this respect they are beyond comparison by the doctors divorced from production. Barefoot doctors have not a small amount of medical and health knowledge. Many of them can treat not only common diseases but also mystifying and difficult diseases. Some even can perform difficult surgical operations. The poor and lower-middle peasants do not call them "straw-sandal doctors," "cloth-shoe doctors" or "leather-shoe doctors" because they possess such knowledge, but still keep on affectionately calling them "barefoot doctors." From this, it can be seen that the unrepentant capitalist-roader vainly tries to alter the revolutionary implications of "barefoot doctors" and expunge these young shoots of a socialist new thing from the hearts of the people. He is indulging in daydreams.

Socialist new things are invincible. They cannot be repressed and inducement will also be futile. The broad masses of barefoot doctors will never play into the hands of that unrepentant capitalist-roader and follow the revisionist road. Their pairs of feet have been turned into iron soles through labor and struggle. They will trample down all brambles cluttering the road of progress and carry all before them.

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CHILDREN'S DAY

Jubilant International Children's Day Celebrations in Peking

(NCNA-English Peking, Jun. 1, 1976)

over 20,000 school pupils attended gala parties today in warm celebration of the june 1 international children's day.

amid great victories in the current struggle to criticize teng hsiao-ping and beat back the right deviationist attempt to reverse correct verdicts, the children express their determination to carry forward the revolutionary spirit of the "children's crops" of the war years, take an active part in criticizing the capitalist-roaders and temper themselves in class struggle and the struggle for production and scientific experiment as successors to the proletarian revolutionary cause.

foreign children in peking joined in the festivities.

a garden party at the peking children's palace attended by chinese and foreign children today climaxed several days of children's festivities in the chinese capital. similar festival celebrations were arranged for children in the city districts and neighbourhood communities, schools and kindergartens.

activities included reports, discussions, exhibitions and theatrical shows which gave the children education on the struggle between the two classes and the two lines.

congresses of the little red soldiers, a school pupils' organization, were held in a number of city districts. outstanding little red soldiers and instructors were commended. more than 10,000 workers, peasants and soldiers who have served as after-school instructors of the little red soldiers were guests of honour at a theatrical and sports show arranged under the joint auspices of the peking trade union council, the peking municipal committee of the chinese communist youth league, the peking women's federation, the city bureaus of education and culture, and the local physical culture and sports committee. more than 2,000 kindergarten nurses met on the eve of children's day to exchange experience.

the peking children's palace was festively bedecked and adorned with lanterns for the occasion.

the exuberant little red soldiers and other children at the gala parties joined in singing and dancing, playing games and puzzles in a lively atmosphere. they performed theatrical items praising the great communist

party of china, great leader chairman mao and his proletarian revolutionary line, and the great victories of the cultural revolution. they indignantly criticized the arch unrepentant party capitalist-roader teng hsiao-ping and his revisionist line, and his restorationist crimes of trying to reverse the correct verdicts of the cultural revolution and settle old scores with it.

performing at the gala parties were the kwangtung provincial troupe to the national acrobatics festival, the peking puppet theatre, the peking ballad singing troupe, the peking gymnastics team, a unit of the peking garrison and the peking motor-cyclists school. their performances drew warm applause from the children.

upon their arrival, children of compatriots of taiwan province origin were given a warm welcome. amidst warm applause, they performed items including "we cherish the memory of taiwan children" and "the red sun will surely illuminate taiwan".

an atmosphere of unity and friendship between chinese and foreign children prevailed at today's gala parties. foreign children were given a warm welcome wherever they went. children of different races performed songs and dances on the same stage.

extending festival greetings to the little red soldiers and other children at the children's palace today were leading members of the preparatory groups for the ninth all-china trade union congress, the tenth congress of the communist youth league of china, and the fourth national women's congress, leading members of the peking municipal party committee, peking municipal revolutionary committee and peking trade union council, the communist youth league municipal committee, women's federation and militia organizations as well as leading members of the peking municipal educational bureau, cultural bureau and the physical culture and sports committee.

others at the get-togethers were peking's worker militia, people's police and guards who performed meritorious service in smashing the recent counter-revolutionary disturbances at tienanmen square, outstanding little-red-soldier-instructors and workers, peasants and soldiers who serve as after-school instructors, as well as representatives of workers, peasants and soldiers in the chinese capital.

Peking Press Marks International
Children's Day

(NCNA-English Peking, Jun. 1, 1976)

today's "people's daily" and other newspapers in the chinese capital give frontpage prominence to the tremendous victories which have been scored in the revolution in china's rural education under the guidance of chairman mao's proletarian line in education. primary school education has basically become universal in china's countryside, where more than 93 per cent of the school-age children are now in school. the total number of primary school pupils throughout the country amounts to one and a half million, or 30 per cent more than on the eve of the great proletarian cultural revolution.

the "people's daily" devotes the lower half of the front page to the activities in the criticism of the unrepentant capitalist-roader teng hsiao-ping by the pupils in the city of tientsin and the ningsia hui autonomous region in the current struggle to repulse the right deviationist attempts to reverse correct verdicts of the cultural revolution.

under the headline "new shoots nurtured by sunshine and dew", the fourth page of the "people's daily" carries ten pictures showing how pupils in shanghai, talien, kwangchow, hunan, tibet, kansu, kwangsi and shansi as well as pupils of taiwan province origin now in peking and children from kindergartens of the people's liberation army study marxist-leninist theory, put up wall newspapers to criticize teng hsiao-ping, engage in industrial and farm work, study military affairs and raise their educational level, carry out sports and art creative activities. these pictures show that children in socialist china, nurtured by mao tsetung thought, are living a happy life today.

the literary and art page of the "people's daily" carries a poem in praise of a "little red guard on tienanmen square". the explanatory notes before the poem says: a girl less than 10 years old took part in the struggle to smash the counter-revolutionary political incident at tienanmen square. she alertly noted down the bicycle registration number of a counter-revolutionary hooligan who had set a car on fire, and immediately reported it to the people's policemen who exercised the dictatorship of the proletariat in capturing the fleeing hooligan.

the literary and art page of the "peking daily" also carries poems and drawings by primary school pupils. "i grow along with the great cultural revolution" a poem by a third grade pupil and "firmly criticize revisionism" by a fifth-grade pupil, are among them.

peking papers also report the miserable life of children living under the dark rule of the chiang gang in taiwan.

peking papers carry news on the happy life of the children in albania, korea, viet nam, laos and cambodia.

Peking Children Grow Healthily

(NCNA-English Peking, Jun. 1, 1976)

children in china are a promising generation, daring in criticizing the bourgeoisie. about one million children in the chinese capital are active in the current struggle to criticize teng hsiao-ping and repulse the right deviationist attempt to reverse correct verdicts.

children of the middle and primary schools in peking are holding criticism meetings and writing big-character posters in large numbers; children's art troupes are giving performances for the residents of neighbourhood communities. children's verses -- one of their favourite ways of expressing revolutionary criticism -- are frequently published in the peking papers.

to let children brave the revolutionary struggle and face the world, develop their talents and capabilities -- this is china's way of training revolutionary successors.

children's rhyme as a critical weapon was created by the students of a peking primary school in 1974 in the movement to criticize lin piao and confucius. publication in the paper, this form of verse became popular among the little red soldiers throughout the country. since the start of the current anti-right deviationist struggle, some 600 children at the school have written about 10,000 children's verses criticizing and repudiating teng hsiao-ping's criminal attempts to restore capitalism.

the newspapers have received many letters from workers, peasants and soldiers praising and encouraging the young writers whose poems were published. the noted writer hao jan, worker-poet li hsueh-ao and peasant-poet chiang lien-ming joined the children's song and poem recitals on separate occasions and there and then wrote verses for the children to praise them as young revolutionary fighters.

bringing along 4 musical pieces he had composed for children's rhymes, mou hung, a professor of musical composition of the chinese "may 7" art university, one day went to the primary school to discuss them with young writers and composers there. after talking over the music with them, he made a number of changes to comply with their suggestions.

dozens of children's rhymes have been set to music, including "little red soldiers have fighting will" and "advancing on the 'may 7' road" written by pupils of the school. these songs are becoming very popular.

in order to help the children mature in revolutionary struggle, they are taught the rudiments of marxism-leninism-mao tsetung thought. the peking children have organized upwards of ten thousand spare-time marxist-leninist study groups. one such group, made up of eight little red soldiers in kangleli primary school of hsuanwu district, has spent an hour a day studying marxism-leninism-mao tsetung thought since being set up last march. such study has helped them raise their consciousness of class struggle and the struggle between the two lines. after the start of the struggle against the right deviationist attempt at reversing correct verdicts, this study group put up the first big-character poster in the school and ran a wall paper carrying criticisms of the right deviationist nonsense in educational circles.

early april this year when a handful of counter-revolutionaries were perpetrating the counter-revolutionary incident at tienanmen square, kuo ching-kai, a red guard member of a marxist-leninist study group in the no. 95 middle school, was in tienanmen square. he noticed a person making counter-revolutionary speeches and later saw him throw a bicycle he had stolen from the army barracks into the fire. kuo ching-kai, certain that this was a demagogue and counter-revolutionary hooligan, followed him for two hours. when the hooligan went to get his own bicycle to get away, young kuo made a note of the number of his license plate and reported to the people's police. this counter-revolutionary was finally caught.

while studying works by marx, engels, lenin and stalin and chairman mao's works, many children's groups serve the people with concrete action.

one evening, two little red soldiers were collecting garbage from door to door in a lane. the wheelbarrow was heavy and they were sweating with the effort. an old man carrying water came along and said: "the work is dirty, and heavy. have a rest and a drink of water." "we don't mind dirt or fatigue, if it is to serve the people," they replied. they left the lane only after they had collected all the garbage.

"it is not hard for one to do a bit of good. what is hard is to do good all one's life" is one of the teachings of chairman mao's that many pupils constantly keep in mind. with this before them, they feel they can persevere in consciously helping the people.

seven girls of the huilungkuan primary school with su yu-ping as their group leader have persevered in studying marxism-leninism and serving the people for the past ten years. they started their group with the advent of the cultural revolution in 1966 when they were second graders. today they are in the second year of senior middle school and are still helping to clean the streets and the buses and accumulate manure for the fields, and doing household work for elderly people.

at the lianghsiang middle school, 20 students who call themselves the "serve the people group" learned to repair shoes and have been making repairs without charge for their schoolmates and commune peasants for the last five years. in this period they have repaired 10,000 pairs of shoes.

little red soldier huang shuai who is known throughout the country for taking the lead in criticizing the "schoolmaster's absolute authority", is now a junior middle school student. she not only continues in the spirit of revolutionary rebellion, but has also led her class in criticizing teng hsiao-ping. she is active in doing good things for the public and studies hard.

the students and pupils are attentive in study and do their homework conscientiously. their attitude shows that chairman mao's teachings "study well and make progress every day" and "serve the people" are a tremendous motive force. at every school there is a conspicuous slogan in big characters reminding the students and pupils to "become a worker with both socialist consciousness and culture."

REVOLUTION IN EDUCATION

Tremendous Successes in China's Countryside Education Revolution

(NCNA-English Peking, Jun. 1, 1976)

the revolution in education has given new impetus to the vigorous development of the socialist educational undertakings in china's countryside. universal five-year primary school education has now been enforced throughout the rural areas. seven-year junior middle school education has been universalized in quite a number of areas and nine-year senior middle school education in some localities. this is a fruitful result of the great proletarian cultural revolution.

statistics collected by the departments concerned show that at present, over 93 percent of the school-age children in the countryside are attending school. the number of primary school pupils in china stands at 150 million, or 30 percent more than before the start of the cultural revolution in 1966. in 23 provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions up to or more than 95 percent of the total number of school-age children are enrolled in schools.

since the start of the cultural revolution, universal education has developed rapidly not only on the plains, but also in the vast mountainous, pastoral and remote areas and in the regions where minority nationalities live in compact communities.

in the tibet autonomous region, 85 percent of the school-age children are now attending school as against only 31 percent in 1965. all production brigades under people's communes have their own part-herdwork and part-study primary schools in the sparsely-populated matuo county of northwest china's chinghai province, where the yellow river takes its source and where the population average is one person to every five square kilometres. compared with the figure before the start of the cultural revolution, the number of schools in the county has increased by over nine times and that of students by over six times. before liberation, not a single child of the poor and lower-middle herdsmen could afford to go to school in hsianghuang banner, inner mongolia, where more than 20,000 people of mongolian, han, hui, man, tahur, tibetan and olunchun nationalities reside in compact communities. but now, well over 95 percent of the children of herdsmen have been enrolled. every commune-run primary school has junior middle school classes attached to it, and universal seven-year education is being popularised in the banner. 1,230 primary schools and 25 middle schools have been established and more than 90 percent of the school-age children are today enrolled in the yunnan

nuchiang lisu autonomous prefecture which an imperialist missionary once declared would "not have a school within the 20th century".

before liberation, the deeply exploited and oppressed poor and lower-middle peasants had been deprived of their fundamental right to education and culture. after the founding of new china and with the development of the rural socialist revolution and construction, the poor and lower-middle peasants eagerly demanded complete cultural emancipation. the idea of schools run by the masses rose in a great upsurge during the high tide of the movements on land reform, the agricultural cooperatives and the people's communes and the socialist education movement in the rural areas. some progress in rural education was achieved. however, in the 17 years before the start of the great cultural revolution, liu shao-chi and company seized the leadership of the educational departments and frenziedly pushed a revisionist educational line, with the result that chairman mao's proletarian educational line was not basically carried out. in the broad rural areas, the educational system, the teaching policy, material and methods, which remained almost unchanged, continued to peddle the sinister ideas of feudalism, capitalism and revisionism such as "he who excels in learning can be an official", "study in order to become an official" and "intellectual training first". the revisionist educational line also put up all sorts of obstacles to dampen the enthusiasm of the poor and lower-middle peasants in running schools. the rules imposed on them included regulations such as: "schools must be in regular order and concentrated in central places", "a village of less than 20 households is not allowed to set up a school" and "no class of less than 30 students is allowed to open". the right to education was in fact in the hands of the bourgeoisie and the majority of the children of the poor and lower-middle peasants were largely excluded from the schools, while those who had the opportunity to enter were exposed to the poisonous ideology of feudalism, capitalism and revisionism. as a result, some students looked down upon doing physical labour in the countryside and feared hardship. they longed to leave the countryside and go to big cities. this serious situation of the domination of the bourgeoisie over the proletariat on the educational front aroused strong dissatisfaction among the poor and lower-middle peasants.

in the great cultural revolution, the poor and lower-middle peasants have bravely risen to oppose liu shao-chi's counter-revolutionary revisionist education line and recaptured the right of culture and education in the countryside. in 1968, chairman mao issued his brilliant directive: "in the countryside, schools and colleges should be managed by the poor and lower-middle peasants -- the most reliable ally of the working

class." within a short period, management organizations of the poor and lower-middle peasants had mushroomed throughout the countryside, involving 3.70 million representatives of the poor and lower-middle peasants. under the guidance of chairman mao's revolutionary line, the educational revolution in the rural schools is now going full steam ahead.

from practical experience, the poor and lower-middle peasants understand very well that school has never been a place simply for passing on knowledge, but always an important front in the class struggle. only when the revolution in education has been carried out and the problem solved of who is to be served, can real educational opportunities be provided for the sons and daughters of the poor and lower-middle peasants. following chairman mao's instruction "education must serve proletarian politics and be combined with productive labour", the poor and lower-middle peasants have deeply criticized revisionism and the old educational system and tried hard to make the schools a tool of the dictatorship of the proletariat so that the members of the younger generation will become socialist-minded educated labourers. in popularizing education, the foremost task is to popularize marxism-leninism-mao tsetung thought so that an elementary knowledge of marxism-leninism is available to children at an early age. marxist-leninist classics including chairman mao's works have been used as basic teaching material, class struggle has been taken as the main subject and teaching the children with proletarian ideology has been regarded as a matter of prime importance. successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat are trained in the three great revolutionary movements -- class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment.

the party branch and the poor and lower-middle peasants of the tachai production brigade have persisted in taking class struggle as the key link and have guided the children and youth in actively taking part in the day to day class struggle. together with the poor and lower-middle peasants, they study revolutionary theories and criticize revisionism. they fight against class enemies, bourgeois trends and old traditional ideas. through these struggles, they are being tempered to become revolutionary peasants of a new type and retaining deep roots in the countryside.

in yingshan county, hupeh province, many schools have set aside rooms and other sites for exhibitions on class education and for recalling the past and appreciating the present. this is an important form of class struggle education among the young people.

the teachers and students of a school in huihsien county in honan province, in the last few years have visited over two hundred production brigades to investi-

gate class struggles in the countryside. together with the commune members they have criticized revisionism, bourgeoisie and all exploiting ideology. they have also written over three hundred articles, including reports, surveys, and histories of peasant families and of villages. these visits have helped them to combine theory with practice and to gain a deeper understanding of the party's basic line.

the poor and lower-middle peasants have guided the teachers and students in the practice of the open door system in education to ensure that students take part in industrial, agricultural and military activities. this is a big change from the former educational system which was divorced from proletarian politics, from the worker and peasant masses and from practice.

in weinan county, shensi province, over 580 rural primary schools have set up little red guards cotton growing groups. the 50,000 little red guards there are looking after around 390 hectares planted to cotton. by taking part in farming work they have learned the fine ideology of the poor and lower-middle peasants in farming for revolution and by working hard they are able to produce 1.1 tons of ginned cotton per hectare.

every primary and middle school in tunchang county, kwangtung province has a small farm of its own. they have experimented to get higher yield in growing sugarcane and succeeded in getting an average per hectare yield of 60 tons, with 270 tons as the highest record. these figures greatly exceeded the average local production yield.

the new generation in the countryside grow up with a love for the land and the crops and a close attachment to the poor and lower-middle peasants. while still at school, they contribute to the building up of the new socialist villages.

the poor and lower-middle peasants' school management committees in various places have led teachers and students in transforming the teaching materials and methods. they have discarded the parts of the curricula that do not fit in with the needs of the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment and added new content, such as the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, marxist philosophy, critical essays on lin piao and confucius, stories about the working people's struggle against confucius in the past, works of the legalists and revolutionary songs for children. some schools have compiled teaching material on the local areas, including accounts that contrast the sufferings in old china with the peasants' happy life today, specimens of writing on subjects that rural people find useful as well as "miscellany on farm work" and "miscellany on farm tools". many primary and middle

schools have set up courses on agricultural techniques, machinery and electricity for rural use, agricultural mathematics, electricity, carpentry, forestry, veterinary science and training for barefoot doctors and short-term classes on new methods for nursing seedlings, mass production of bacterial fertilizers and improvement of farming systems.

worker-peasant part-time teachers with practical experience often give lectures to the students. while passing on experience of class struggle, they take the students along to make social surveys. while dealing with the mechanical principle of tractors, they take the students to the fields to tractor-plough the land. while explaining the structure of diesel engines and motors, they take the students to the pump wells to operate and repair them. the students not only receive an education that combines theory with practice but also one that develops them morally, intellectually and physically.

in addition to the schools run by the state, poor and lower-middle peasants have set up schools in diverse forms by relying on the collective strength. they have devised a hundred and one ways to make it convenient for peasant children to attend schools that are close at hand. primary schools on horseback and in tents are run for herdsmen's children on the vast grasslands and in the stockbreeding areas. touring primary schools have been instituted in mountain areas where people live widely scattered, and schools on boats for those in the fishing areas on the rivers, lakes and seas. teaching centres have been established to make schooling available to pupils whenever they are able to attend classes. with the gradual eradication of the old traditional concept of men's superiority over women, the proportional number of girls attending school has risen greatly.

the training of labourers who are both cultured and socialist-minded in accordance with chairman mao's revolutionary line on education is looked upon as a good achievement by the poor and lower-middle peasants. they hold it to be of great significance for the working people to be educated, for restricting bourgeois right and gradually narrowing the differences between workers and peasants, between town and country and between mental and manual labour, for combating and preventing revisionism and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat. nurtured by mao tsetung thought, the youngsters in the rural areas have come to grasp the party's basic line and are daring in the struggle to defend it. they are playing a part in the three great revolutionary movements -- class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment. in the movement to criticize lin piao and confucius, the theoretical study groups of little red guards in the hsiungying brigade school in

a county of the ningsia hui autonomous region wrote 5,000 poems after having studied quotations from works by marx, engels, lenin and stalin and by chairman mao. in the struggles to beat back the right deviationist wind to reverse the correct verdicts of the cultural revolution, they rebutted the absurdity of "the present is not as good as the past" by giving accounts of the profound changes that had taken place in their brigade since the start of the cultural revolution. they created children's verses to denounce teng hsiao-ping's right deviationist wind and in warm support of the two resolutions of the central committee of the communist party of china on the appointment of hua kuo-feng as first vice-chairman of the c.p.c. central committee and premier of the state council and on the dismissal of teng hsiao-ping from all posts both inside and outside the party. chuangho county in liaoning province is a place where the five-year education system was popularized in 1973 and seven-year system in 1975. most of the 90,000 middle school graduates of the last few years are now working in the rural areas and constitute a strong backbone political force in the building of the socialist countryside. of the middle school graduates in the hilly areas of a county in kwangsi chuang autonomous region, 2,200 are now cadres of the production brigades and teams, over a thousand are teachers in the brigade- and team-run schools, nearly 800 are instructors at political or cultural evening schools, 580 are agro-technicians, 360 are mechanics and electricians and 270 are barefoot doctors or veterinarians.

since the start of the cultural revolution, party organizations at all levels have paid serious attention to the revolution in education because of the important bearings it has on the all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie in the spheres of the superstructure. they have strengthened the ranks of the teachers by paying special attention to educating, remoulding and uniting with them and recommending as teachers demobilized armymen, educated youth with a large number of outstanding workers, peasants and soldiers serving as part-time teachers as well. in minority nationality areas efforts have been made to train teachers of their own nationalities. faithful to the party's educational task, the teachers have greatly contributed to the popularization of education in the rural areas.

peasants, teachers and students have reviewed the course of struggle in the past ten years of the cultural revolution and point to the brilliant achievements of the revolution in education in the rural areas. they denounce teng hsiao-ping, the unrepentant arch party capitalist roader, for his criminal attempt to make a breach in the educational field in order to reverse the correct verdicts and restore capitalism. they are determined to carry on the education revolution and win new and greater victories.

CADRES

Young Leading Cadres Emerged During Great Cultural Revolution

(NCNA-English Shanghai, May 31, 1976)

many young people have been promoted to leading posts as party committee secretaries or chairmen of revolutionary committees in shanghai's factories, rural people's communes, government organs and schools. these young cadres, in the three-in-one combination of the old, the middle-aged and the young have high revolutionary zeal, are bold in thought and action, and are warm supporters of new socialist things.

the shanghai electric instrument factory produces precision instruments. young cadres promoted during the great proletarian cultural revolution account for roughly one-fourth of the 161 cadres in the party organizations and revolutionary committees of the factory and its workshops. among them are young deputy secretaries of the factory's party committee and vice-chairmen of the factory's revolutionary committee.

shih chu-hsiang, a winder, is now a deputy secretary of the factory's party committee. she was 19 years old and an apprentice at the start of the cultural revolution, and became an activist in the struggles to repudiate the party capitalist-roaders and was accepted into the communist party. in 1974 she was made a leading cadre. she often joined the workers in their work, maintained close contact with them and was very clear about the situation in the workshops and party branches. she listened attentively to the workers' opinions in her heart-to-heart talks with them and conveyed their demands to party committee meetings for consideration. this brought vigour to the party committee.

young pao, a vice-chairman of the factory's revolutionary committee, who defies all difficulties, is always ready to take on the heaviest responsibilities. he is in charge of the factory's production. once the factory was asked to produce eight times more digital displacement meters to meet a need of the country's socialist construction. "the only way we could possibly fulfil the task is for everyone to grow an extra pair of hands", someone commented. but young pao said, "we certainly can fulfil the target if we rely on the wisdom and energy of the masses". led by the party committee, he and the communist youth league committee organized shock brigades and called on the workers to make technical innovations. thanks to these efforts, the factory accomplished its task.

many veteran cadres who have been tempered in protracted revolutionary struggles share the heavy responsibility of socialist revolution and construction with the young cadres. they care for them and help them in their work while earnestly learning from them.

yen hsuen-chien was formerly the party committee secretary of the shanghai electric power repair and manufacturing plant. the great cultural revolution raised his consciousness for continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. old yen proposed that ku ping-hua, then deputy secretary of the party committee, replace him for he saw that the young cadre was full of revolutionary enthusiasm, still maintained the fine qualities of the working class and loved and took an active part in collective productive labour. he thought that young people like little ku should be trained as successors to the revolutionary cause. the two exchanged places with the approval of the leadership and the masses. while doing his best to help little ku gain competence, old yen learned from the young man and set more strict demands on himself. he often worked alongside the workers though he was not in very good health.

with the help of the old cadres little ku matured quickly. he maintained close ties with the workers and made himself an example in working conscientiously while paying attention to the unity among the party committee members.

Cultural Revolution Educates China's Cadres

(NCNA-English Peking, Jun. 1, 1976)

tempered and educated in the great proletarian cultural revolution, many leading cadres of the party who have accumulated rich experience in long years of revolutionary struggle are continuing the revolution in china.

they and the younger cadres who have emerged and grown up politically in the cultural revolution are leading the masses forward with vigour.

an example is hsu ming, party committee secretary of the chaoyang agricultural institute in northeast china's liaoning province. this is an outstanding institute in china's education in revolution.

before the cultural revolution, hsu ming was deputy party committee secretary of the shenyang agricultural institute, the predecessor of chaoyang. at that time,

hsu ming followed liu shao-chi's revisionist line on education. in the cultural revolution, the students and faculty members criticized him for following the revisionist line and turning the institute into a school for successors to the bourgeoisie.

this criticism was a help to hsu ming. in his study of chairman mao's exposition on the cultural revolution and his teachings on the revolution in education, hsu ming gradually came to realize that the way he was running the institute was contrary to the goal of the proletarian revolution.

according to chairman mao's proletarian line on education, education must serve proletarian politics and be combined with productive labour; the educational policy must enable everyone who receives schooling to develop morally, intellectually and physically and become a worker with both socialist consciousness and culture. but for a decade and more, the students of the shenyang agricultural institute, which was situated in a big city, were shut up in school buildings, isolated from proletarian politics, from the workers and peasants and from production. they studied agriculture but disliked farming. more than 7,000 students graduated from the institute in the 17 years before the cultural revolution, but not a single one went to work in the countryside.

hsu ming took up work as a leading cadre again in 1969. he took a group of faculty members to a small mountain village and started the chaoyang agricultural institute there. the institute's educational policy is "from the communes, to the communes", i.e., it enrolls students from among the commune peasants, and the graduates return to work at their original communes and brigades as peasants.

this policy is a repudiation of the bourgeois line which turns a school into a step-ladder that enables the graduates to climb to the privileged echelon over and above the working people.

to integrate the students with proletarian politics, the working people and production, the institute student body does several labour stints a year. the labour stints are arranged according to the local farming requirements. the students return to their communes and brigades to participate in production and bring to the institute for study and solution practical problems they encounter in the course of agricultural production. this method enables the students to apply to actual production what they have learned and serve the people while they are still undergraduates.

this institute has already graduated three classes of new-type peasants with both socialist consciousness

and culture. the graduates, who are pioneers in closing the gap between mental and manual labour, work and draw work-points like ordinary peasants. college graduates of this kind are enthusiastically welcomed by the poor and lower-middle peasants.

last year teng hsiao-ping, the arch unrepentant party capitalist-roader, initiated the right deviationist attempt to reverse correct verdicts and took the lead in denying the policy and experience of the chaoyang agricultural institute. hsu ming and other leading cadres of the institute resisted the pressure, persevered in taking the correct road and has become an outstanding example in china's educational revolution.

"i have consciously implemented chairman mao's revolutionary line on education and dared to struggle against revisionism because my awareness of the struggle between the two classes and the two lines has been heightened in the cultural revolution," hsu ming said.

hsu ming's words are representative of what the chinese cadres feel they have gained in the cultural revolution. before the cultural revolution, many cadres were taken in by liu shao-chi's "theory of the dying out of class struggle" and did not have a clear comprehension of class struggle in the period of socialism. in their opinion, class struggle had come to an end with the completion, in the main, of the socialist transformation of the ownership of means of production.

"thanks to the great cultural revolution," hsu ming said, "i have come to understand that class struggle still exists in the period of socialism. the bourgeoisie not only exists in society at large, but also exists within the party. capitalist-roaders such as liu shao-chi, lin piao and teng hsiao-ping are members of the bourgeoisie in the party. throughout the period of socialism there exists the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between the socialist road and the capitalist road and between chairman mao's proletarian revolutionary line and the revisionist line. the revolution has not come to an end."

the cultural revolution has aroused in the cadres the revolutionary spirit of working hard and making continuous progress which they had displayed in the years of the revolutionary war. cheng yung-ho, secretary of honan province's huihsien county party committee, said: "without the great cultural revolution, the other members of the county party committee and myself would not have acquired the high morale we have today, and huihsien county would not have made such fast progress excl."

huihsien county was an old revolutionary base area during the war of resistance against japanese aggression between 1937 and 1945. cheng yung-ho and several other

leading members of the county party committee were then guerrilla fighters in the locality, and after liberation, they became the county's leading cadres. the county remained impoverished and backward for the 17 years before the cultural revolution.

in the cultural revolution, the masses have made sharp criticism of the county party committee, saying that the leaders of the county did not want to continue the revolution after seizing political power. "their criticism is right," cheng yung-ho said. "with our surroundings and positions changed, we leading members were content to rest on our past merits and achievements. we began to desire an easy life and not want to work hard and live plainly. though we'd entered the stage of socialism, our ideology was still at the bourgeois democratic stage and we were not aware of the need to continue the revolution."

always bearing in mind chairman mao's teaching "don't rest on your laurels, make new contributions", cheng yung-ho, who resumed work as county party secretary in 1967, led the people of the whole county in learning from tachai, national pace-setter in agriculture. as soon as the county revolutionary committee was set up, he led the standing committee members to study the hilly areas throughout the county and, on the basis of their investigations, they mapped out a grand plan for changing the landscape of the county.

one-third of the cadres of organs under the new county party committee are responsible for the overall work in general while another one-third goes to work and studies conditions in the communes and their subdivisions; the remaining one-third takes part in collective productive labour. cheng yung-ho led by his exemplary behaviour. he worked and sweated at almost all major construction sites. in the past few years, he has taken part in physical labour for 110 days out of every year. each standing committee member of the county party committee has done physical labour for 96 days in the year and the commune leading members, 170 days.

cheng yung-ho also took the lead to go to work in the communes or brigades where class struggle was more complicated and production lagging behind. in these places, he mobilized the peasants to study marxism-leninism-mao tsetung thought and criticize revisionism and capitalist tendencies. he left only when the situation had taken a turn for the better.

the efforts the leading cadres at various levels have made in leading by example greatly helped in generating the peasants' socialist enthusiasm. in just a few years, 34 reservoirs and 5,300 kilometres of irrigation ditches were built. the once rock-strewn

riverside has been turned into fertile fields and the barren mountain slopes are now covered with trees of economic value. from 1965, the year before the start of the cultural revolution, to 1975 the county's total grain output has increased threefold and gross industrial output value, 5.5-fold. the once poor and backward county has now become an advanced one known to the whole country.

"be an ordinary worker always, keep close ties with the masses, serve the people whole-heartedly and consciously restrict bourgeois right with my own conduct" -- this is the motto of chang yao-liang, secretary of the party committee of the peking no. 1 steel rolling mill, who has the respect and support of the mill's workers.

fifty-four-year old chang yao-liang joined the chinese communist party in 1938. before the cultural revolution, he was director of the mill. under the influence of liu shao-chi's revisionist line, the workers at that time were controlled, checked or suppressed outright. what the leading cadres said counted and the workers had no say. chang thought that he was superior to the workers and that he should have special privileges. he seldom went among the masses and took no part in productive labour.

with criticism and help from the workers in the cultural revolution, he came to realize the perniciousness of divorce from the masses. he said: "to a cadre of the communist party, divorce from the masses means the beginning of revisionism. leading cadres of a socialist country are servants of the people, not overlords standing above them."

educated by the cultural revolution, chang yao-liang has paid attention to restricting bourgeois right and kept close ties with the masses. every day, from morning till night, he tours the various workshops and visits with the workers during all three shifts, looking into their working conditions and listening to their opinions. he works wherever there is a shortage of hands and always vies for the dirtiest and heaviest jobs. he has had heart-to-heart talks with many workers, called on all the workshop leaders' families, visited all the injured workers and called on who fell ill. he eats what the workers eat and also lines up for his turn in the dining-room just as they do. the workers remark: "secretary chang doesn't look like an official and his heart is linked to ours."

chang yao-liang never uses the power the party and the people have vested in him to seek his own interests. he says: "bourgeois right is the phenomenon of unequality among people arising from the system of grades and division of labour in society. it is a vestige of the old system in our new society. this phenomenon of

unequality cannot be eliminated at one stroke in the period of socialism. but it must be restricted. if it is consolidated and expanded, it will lead to the restoration of capitalism just as what has happened in the soviet union. it is especially important for us leading cadres to have a deep understanding of this and to take the lead in restricting it."

today, there are many leading cadres like chang yao-liang in china. cadre participation in collective productive labour has been regularized as a system since the start of the great cultural revolution. cadres in factories and rural areas take a direct part in productive labour and cadres of the central and various local leading organs go in turn to do physical labour in "may 7" cadre schools. the workers and peasants who have been elected to the party central committee are also not divorced from productive labour.

WOMEN

A Woman Captain

(NCNA-English Shanghai, Jun. 1, 1976)

"navigation, an occupation which was always outlawed for women was opened to them only with the advent of socialism. it is the party who trained me to be a quarter master. it is chairman mao who guides the direction for my advance." said kung ching-fen, captain of the "taching" no. 31, when she sailed her chinese-made 15,000-ton oil tanker into the harbour of shanghai.

kung ching-fen has worked at the sea for 23 years. in 1969, she was appointed captain of a freighter "chantou" no. 67 plying between talien, tsingtao and shanghai, and became china's first woman to captain a ship.

she was born in the family of worker in post and telecommunications. before liberation, her family, like all workers in the country, was harshly oppressed and exploited by the imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism. they led a life of cold and hunger. after liberation, she took part in work in tientsin marine transport administration, and was elected to represent the seamen's union at a national advanced women workers' meeting held in peking.

recalling how she had matured over the years, she said, "in the early liberation days i attended a meeting

with china's first woman flier and this country's first woman locomotive driver in peking. i thought then: we women contribute to socialist construction on land and in the air, but there are no woman at sea. i'll study navigation, sail a ship and to be a credit to women, our socialist motherland and the great leader chairman mao."

with the firm support of the party organizations and warm encouragement from her comrades, she was assigned to the biggest ship "hoping" no.1 in the port of shanghai in 1953. the veteran captain, chief officer and chief engineer taught her all they knew about helmsmanship, showed her every aspect of the job, and encouraged her, saying, "only with working class mastery of our country, can women have the chance to study navigation. do your best to study for the people and the revolution."

with indomitable revolutionary spirit, she worked hard to do well in acquiring navigational knowledge and technique in a year and after her examination became a third officer.

just after being recommended for the captaincy, she was at the helm of a cargo ship, the "chantou" no. 67. on one occasion, a winter storm hit the waves and the full-loaded ship listed to the port side. she and the crew moved 150 tons of rolled steel to the starboard side to balance the ship. at the same time, they also adopted the necessary measures to ensure safe navigation.

with the rapid development of oil production, she was made a captain of a 15,000-ton tanker. under the party's cordial concern and warm support and with the help of veteran seamen, she has safely navigated the tanker and overfulfilled transport task by overcoming all difficulties in the past two years.

although she is a captain, she still keeps the fine quality of an ordinary worker, perseveres in taking part in productive labour, and vies with others in taking on dirty, heavy work. she often joins crew members in scraping rust off, painting the ship's hull, washing out the tanks and helps the cooks during her holiday.

criticism of the feudal idea of men superiority over women has further fired the women's enthusiasm for taking part in navigation.

now, in the shanghai marine transport administration there are over 100 women trained as captains, political commissars, mechanics, seamen and radio operators.

COAL MINING & FARM PRODUCTION

Socialist New Mining Area

(NCNA-English Huhehot, May 31, 1976)

while increasing coal output, workers of a coal mining area in the inner mongolian autonomous region have vigorously developed grain and other farm production, thus turning this major coal producer into a socialist new mining area, where workers are integrated with peasants, and town with country.

the wuta colliery is located on the fringe of the wulan buh desert. it has doubled its coal output in the last decade and expanded farm production. at present, the colliery has nine collectively-owned farms, a state-owned forestry farm and an agro-technique station. the area of farmland is now eight times as big as in 1965, the year before the great proletarian cultural revolution started. moreover, small factories have been set up to serve coal production and people's daily life. last year, the mining area turned out 180 tons of grain and 8,500 tons of vegetable, and it became completely self-sufficient in the latter in spring and autumn and partially in winter.

the arid wuta area is subject to sandstorms and, in the past, even grass could not grow on its large tracts of sandy wastes. when the colliery was just opened, miners depended on food grain and vegetable brought in from other places.

in 1959, shortly after the colliery was opened, coal miners reclaimed 130 hectares of wasteland for farm production. farms in the mining area developed at a slow pace, and, owing to the interference of liu shao-chi's revisionist line, it was considered that it was not the business of the mining area to engage in farm production.

in 1966, the great leader chairman mao issued the "may 7" directive in which he pointed out: "while mainly engaging in industrial activity, workers should also study military affairs and politics and raise their educational level. they, too, should carry out the socialist education movement and criticize and repudiate the bourgeoisie. where conditions permit, they should also engage in agriculture and side-occupations, just as people do in the taching oilfield." this directive of chairman mao charted the course for developing the mining area, and the miners decided to expand farm production.

farm production was undertaken mainly by the workers' wives. a large number of them left their homes to take part in collective productive labour. they remarked, "we, too, have two hands, and we do not want to sit idle at home." now, of the 6,000 people working on the farms, 5,000 are women.

water control projects are the key factor in developing agriculture in the mining area. miners and their family members have built a four-step pumping project and dug 5,000 metres of ditches, thus basically forming an irrigation network which brings 670 hectares of land under irrigation.

moreover, they have planted 350,000 trees to form shelterbelts in between neat farm plots, so that conditions are created for increasing grain and vegetable production.

EARTHQUAKE

Strong Earthquakes Hit Western Yunnan, Southwest China

(NCNA-English Kunming, Jun. 1, 1976)

two strong earthquakes occurred in the lungling-luhsi area in western yunnan, southwest china, at 20:23 hours and 22:00 hours on may 29.

figures released by china's network of seismological observatories specified the magnitude of the first shock to be 7.5 and the second to be 7.6, with the epicentre at 24.6 degrees north latitude and 98.7 degrees east longitude.

our great leader chairman mao, the party central committee and the state council have shown great concern for the people of the afflicted area. immediately after the earthquakes, the c.p.c. central committee sent a cable of sympathy to the people of the afflicted area, and sent a central delegation to the area to express its sympathy. the state council organized the departments concerned for immediate relief work. the c.p.c. yunnan provincial committee and the party organizations at all levels in the afflicted area took emergency measures and led the masses in anti-quake relief work. leading cadres of the provincial party committee and leading members of departments concerned hurried to the area overnight to direct the relief work. the kunming units of the chinese people's liberation army and the provincial public health department organized medical teams and rushed them to the area. the state seismological bureau and the provincial seismological bureau organized seismologists to keep close watch of development in the area.

under the loving concern of chairman mao and the party central committee, and in the excellent current situation with great victories in deepening the criticism of teng hsiao-ping and beating back the right deviationist attempt, the local people are fully confident of victory in overcoming the consequences wrought by the earthquakes. determined to take class struggle as the key link, they are deepening the criticism of teng hsiao-ping and beating back the right deviationist attempt. under the guidance of chairman mao's revolutionary line, they are carrying forward the revolutionary spirit that man will conquer nature and are united in energetically developing production, rebuilding their homes by self-reliance.

china's seismological departments had made forecasts of the strong earthquakes. under the unified leadership of the yunnan provincial committee of the communist party of china, the departments concerned had adopted preventive measures to greatly alleviate casualties and losses.

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* FOREIGN RELATIONS *
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CHINA AND AFGHANISTAN

Afghan Government Trade Delegation Arrives in Peking

(NCNA-English Peking, May 31, 1976)

an afghan government trade delegation led by vice-minister of commerce mohammad azam azimi arrived in peking by air today.

it is paying a friendly visit to china at the invitation of the chinese ministry of foreign trade and will discuss the signing of a protocol on goods exchange for 1976 between china and afghanistan.

it was greeted at the airport by chai shu-fan, chinese vice-minister of foreign trade, and azizullah rafaat, charge d'affaires ad interim of the afghan embassy here.

CHINA AND AUSTRALIA

Australian Tennis Team Gives Reciprocal Banquet in Peking

(NCNA-English Peking, May 31, 1976)

the australian tennis team led by neale fraser gave a reciprocal banquet here this evening.

among the guests at the banquet were mou tso-yun, leading member of the chinese tennis association, leading members of departments concerned, including chu tse, and chinese tennis players.

r.e. little, counsellor of the australian embassy here, was present.

australian ambassador to china s.a. fitzgerald gave a reception earlier this afternoon for the china visit of the australian tennis team.

the australian team leaves peking tomorrow for a visit to kwangchow on its way home.

CHINA AND BANGLADESH

Vice President of Chinese Amity Association Meets and Fetes Bangladesh Friendship Delegation

(NCNA-English Peking, Jun. 1, 1976)

lin lin, vice-president of the chinese people's association for friendship with foreign countries, met and feted here yesterday a five-member delegation of the bangladesh-china friendship association.

the delegation was led by mirza gholam hafiz, president of the bangladesh-china friendship association, with mohammad lothfe alam, secretary-general of the association, as deputy leader.

the meeting and the banquet proceeded in a cordial and friendly atmosphere.

present were cheng jui-sheng, deputy director of the asian affairs department of chinese ministry of foreign affairs; and abdul momin, bangladesh ambassador to china, and his wife.

the delegation arrived in peking on may 30.

CHINA AND COMOROS

Comoros Government Delegation Arrives in Peking

(NCNA-English Peking, May 31, 1976)

a comoros government delegation led by salim himidi, minister of internal affairs, arrived here by air at noon today for a friendly visit at the invitation of the chinese government.

greeting the distinguished comoros guests at the airport were li chiang, chinese minister of foreign trade; ho ying, vice-minister of foreign affairs; and leading members of departments concerned, including ho kung-kai, hsueh na, yen chia-hua and fu shun-ho.

Peking Banquet in Honor of Comorian Government Delegation

(NCNA-English Peking, May 31, 1976)

chinese foreign trade minister li chiang gave a banquet here this evening in honour of the government delegation of comoros led by salim himidi, minister of internal affairs.

li chiang and salim himidi spoke at the banquet which was alive with expressions of friendship.

in his speech, minister li chiang warmly praised the comorian government and people for their unremitting struggle for safeguarding their national unity and territorial integrity after they won their national independence.

he said: "in international affairs, the comorian government pursues a positive policy of non-alignment, upholds african solidarity, supports the african peoples' struggle for national liberation, opposes imperialism and colonialism, and the contention between the superpowers for hegemonism in the indian ocean and advocates the establishment of an indian ocean zone of peace. we express our firm support for the comoros' just stand."

the chinese minister said: "the present international situation is characterized by great disorder throughout the world and the situation is excellent. the two superpowers' contention for world hegemony is the root cause of intranquility in the world today. that ambitious superpower which spares no efforts in harping on 'peace' is the most dangerous source of war. but the world destiny is not decided by one or two superpowers but by the people of the third world who constitute an overwhelming majority of the world's population and the people of the world. the historical trend that countries want independence, nations want liberation and people want revolution is surging ahead."

minister li chiang said: "our distinguished guests have come from teeming africa where an excellent situation also prevails. the great african people are advancing triumphantly in struggle. that superpower which styles itself the 'natural ally' of the third world is meeting increasingly strong resistance from the african people for its criminal acts of carrying out aggression and expansion in africa, splitting african unity and sabotaging the liberation struggle of the people in southern africa. africa belongs to the great african people and absolutely not to the hegemonism of the superpowers."

the minister expressed the conviction that the

current visit of the comorian government delegation would surely make important contributions to the promotion of mutual understanding between the people of the two countries and to the development of the friendly relations and cooperation between the two countries.

minister salim himidi said: "separated by oceans, mountains and rivers, our two countries are united by ties of militant friendship, solidarity and fraternity.

"the people of china and the comoros knew the same sufferings in the past and are today still confronted with the same provocations on the part of the enemies of progress and emancipation of the people.

"like you, we have waged struggle and are still in struggle on a national scale against foreign imperialism and annexationism, and all velleities of feudalism and evil tendencies of bureaucratic capitalism at the same time.

"like you, we have a part of our national territory under illegal occupation and aggression on the part of alien forces. however, because we are firm and resolute in our just struggle for the total liberation of the motherland, we are sure to win victory."

"through the present delegation," he added, "we would like to confirm our resolution to fight shoulder to shoulder with the chinese people for the establishment of a better and more just world based on peace, justice, respect for national sovereignty, territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, mutual support, mutual benefit and peaceful co-existence."

he stressed that "we are resolutely against all the actual and potential tendencies aimed at creating permanent tension, unbalance and unstability in the indian ocean." the minister advocated making the indian ocean a zone of peace.

present at the banquet were ho ying, vice-foreign minister, and chen mu-hua, vice-minister of economic relations with foreign countries.

CHINA AND KOREA

President Kim Il Sung Receives Outgoing Chinese Ambassador

(NCNA-English Pyongyang, Jun. 1, 1976)

president kim il sung, the great leader of the korean people, received chinese ambassador to korea li yun-chuan and had a long and very cordial and friendly conversation with him. the chinese ambassador is about to leave the country at the end of his term of office.

present on the occasion was ho dam, vice-premier of the korean administration council and minister of foreign affairs.

earlier on may 25, kim il, first vice-president of the d.p.r.k., also received the chinese ambassador and had a very cordial and friendly conversation with him.

CHINA AND NEPAL

Jen-min Jih-pao Editorial Warmly Welcomes His Majesty King Birendra

(NCNA-English Peking, Jun. 2, 1976)

today's "people's daily" carries an editorial entitled "a warm welcome to his majesty king birendra".

full text follows:

his majesty birendra bir bikram shah dev, king of nepal, is due to arrive in chengtu today on a friendly visit to china's szechwan and tibet region at the invitation of chu teh, chairman of the national people's congress, and hua kuo-feng, premier of the state council. the chinese people extend a warm welcome to the distinguished nepalese guests who grace china with their visit.

nepal is a country with a long history and a splendid culture. the industrious and valiant nepalese people waged a protracted and heroic struggle against imperialist aggression. under the leadership of his majesty king birendra, nepal has achieved new successes in defending her national independence and state sovereignty and in developing her national economy and culture in recent years. in international affairs, the nepalese government adheres to the policy of non-

alignment, peace and neutrality, opposes big-power politics and supports the national liberation movement, thus making contributions to the third world's cause of unity against imperialism and hegemonism. for this the chinese people express their admiration and appreciation and wish the nepalese people new successes on the road of independent development.

the present world continues to advance amid turmoil. the third world countries and people have won new victories in their united struggle against imperialism and hegemonism. the situation in asia and south asia also develops in the direction favourable to the people of various countries and unfavourable to imperialism and hegemonism. recently, friendly cooperation and unity of various south asian countries have been enhanced remarkably. this is favourable to various south asian countries in safeguarding their national independence and developing their national economy and is in line with the fundamental interests of the people of various south asian countries. the chinese people who cherish profound friendship for the south asian people earnestly wish to see the south asian countries exclude outside interference and, through consultation on an equal footing, improve their relations and live together in friendship on the basis of the five principles of peaceful co-existence.

china and nepal have been friendly neighbours since ancient times. the magnificent himalayas closely link the people of our two countries. the people of the two countries have always sympathized with and supported each other in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism; in the exchanges between the two countries, they respect and treat each other with equality. since the establishment of diplomatic relations between china and nepal in 1955 and particularly since china and nepal signed a peace and friendship treaty in 1960 and solved the boundary question successfully in 1961, our traditional friendship and friendly cooperation have been constantly consolidated and developed. the chinese people are very grateful to the nepalese government and people for their support to and cooperation with china in the past years. the chinese government and people firmly support the nepalese government and people in their just struggle against outside interference and for defending national independence and state sovereignty and firmly support the just proposal put forward by his majesty king birendra that declares nepal a zone of peace. we believe that his majesty king birendra's friendly visit to china's szechwan and tibet region will surely further promote the friendly relations and cooperation between our two countries. we sincerely wish the distinguished nepalese guests a completely successful visit.

Feature Story: Promote Friendship by Learning from Each Other

(NCNA-English Kathmandu, Jun. 1, 1976)

nepalese king birendra put it well when he said during his visit to china in december 1973 that "the friendly relations so zealously nurtured by the two peoples of our countries shall continue to grow from strength to strength". in fact, closer friendly relations between the two peoples of nepal and china have been brought about by the workers, engineers and technicians in their joint efforts to develop nepal's national industry in last few years.

the kathmandu-bhaktapur trolley bus line was jointly built by the nepalese and chinese workers, engineers and technicians in the past two years, one year ahead of schedule. in the course of building the line and since its opening to traffic, a contingent of technicians for developing nepal's national electric communications has emerged. most of the technicians, aged about 20, were peasants in the vicinity of kathmandu and some were fresh from schools. after taking part in work, they learned modestly and worked diligently, thus making rapid progress. now they are able to work independently.

in hetaura, an emerging industrial city to the southwest of kathmandu, construction of a new project, the hetaura cotton printing and dyeing mill, to be jointly built by the two countries, is in full swing. the construction of the project started at the end of last year has been sped up again and again. while ensuring good quality, the task scheduled to be completed in july was fulfilled by april.

at the construction site, a nepalese friend told his chinese friends: "we are sure to wear the cloths produced by our own country at an early date." the statement voices the nepalese people's common desire and reflects their strong aspirations for developing their own national economy. it is with such aspirations that the nepalese workers and technicians are working hard and building this project with increasing speed.

the country's national industry was held up by long imperialist and colonialist aggression and exploitation. the construction of the printing and dyeing mill is an important step taken by the nepalese people in an effort to achieve self-sufficiency in textile.

m.b. nakarkuli, a bulldozer driver of the highway bureau, is among those who took an active part in the construction of this project. his home is 5 kilometres away from the worksite, but he managed to get there early every day and would often work enthusiastically late into the night. the civil engineer, sharma, even

refused to go home on holidays. their hard work has deeply impressed the chinese personnel. sharma told his chinese friends of his belief that "today's hardship means the happiness of tomorrow."

the kathmandu ring road under construction is another road of nepalese-chinese friendship. one day, it rained heavily when a steel frame dropped into a hole just bored for the first bridge pier of the balkhu bridge. a nepalese worker, janga bahadur, immediately put on a safety belt and dived twice into the water to help hoist the frame. the chinese workers and technicians were deeply moved and said that they would learn from him, to which he said: "i know there are lots of danger and difficulties. but i fear nothing as long as our chinese friends are with us."

one day, in march, chou sheng-pin, a chinese technician, was working attentively with nepalese workers at a quarry near kathmandu, when a half-ton rock suddenly rolled down the hill. seeing that chou was in danger, many nepalese workers dashed towards him crying out: "go away, go away excl" chou moved away and had a narrow escape. the nepalese workers asked him: "are you hurt?" chou was gratified to them all. "chinese friends are our brothers," said a nepalese friend. this demonstrates the profound friendship between the peoples of china and nepal.

CHINA AND PAKISTAN

Pakistan Air Force Goodwill Delegation Leaves Shenyang for Kirin

(NCNA-English Shenyang, Jun. 1, 1976)

the pakistan air force good-will delegation led by air chief marshal zulfiqar ali khan, chief of staff of the pakistan air force, would up its visit to shenyang and left here for kirin by special plane this morning.

the delegation arrived in shenyang from peking yesterday morning in the company of ho ting-yi, deputy commander of the air force of the chinese people's liberation army. the p.l.a. shenyang units gave a banquet in the evening in honour of the distinguished pakistan guests. at the banquet, teng yueh, deputy commander of the shenyang units and chief marshal ali khan toasted to the constant consolidation and growth of the friendship between

the two peoples and armies of china and pakistan. the banquet proceeded in a cordial and friendly atmosphere.

while in shenyang, the honoured guests visited a rubber plant and a machinery plant and toured places of historical interests in the company of deputy commander teng yueh.

upon their arrival in and departure from shenyang, the pakistan guests were warmly welcomed and seen off at the airport by leading members of the p.l.a. shenyang units and departments concerned of the liaoning province and shenyang city.

Pakistan Air Force Goodwill Delegation Back in Peking

(NCNA-English Peking, Jun. 1, 1976)

the pakistan air force good-will delegation led by air chief marshal zulfiqar ali khan, chief of staff of the pakistan air force, returned here by special plane this afternoon after a visit to the city of kirin in northeast china in the company of ho ting-yi, deputy commander of the air force of the chinese people's liberation army.

the delegation arrived in the city of kirin from shenyang this morning. deputy commander chung ming-piao of the p.l.a. kirin provincial command gave a banquet in honour of the delegation.

the distinguished pakistan guests visited a factory when they were in the city.

CHINA AND ROMANIA

Chinese PLA Song and Dance Ensemble Gives Premiere in Bucharest

(NCNA-English Bucharest, May 31, 1976)

the visiting chinese people's liberation army song and dance ensemble gave its premiere at the trade union theatre here yesterday morning. it gave another performance in the evening. the performances were warmly welcomed by romanian officers and men and other spectators.

the premiere was attended by major general victor voichita, deputy secretary of the supreme political council of the romanian army and head of its department for propaganda and culture; major general dinu stelian, head of the "doena" art ensemble of the romanian army; and others.

the evening performance was attended by colonel general nicolae militaru, alternate member of the central committee of the romanian communist party and commander of army group and bucharest garrison; major general victor stanculescu, deputy chief of the general staff of the romanian army; lieutenant general dumitru fotescu, deputy commander of the bucharest garrison; and other generals and officers.

chinese ambassador to romania li ting-chuan and military attache of the chinese embassy li yung-chih attended the evening performance.

chinese items and romanian folk songs performed by the chinese p.l.a. ensemble were warmly applauded by the audience.

all present at the theatre stood up and warmly applauded when a slogan, "long live the friendship between the chinese and romanian peoples and armies", in chinese and romanian appeared on the backdrop at the end of the evening performance.

representatives of the romanian army presented a basket of flowers to the chinese ensemble in the name of the commander of the bucharest garrison colonel general nicolae militaru.

major general gheorghe gomoiu, vice-minister of national defence and secretary of the supreme politicial council of the romanian army, received on may 29 the leader and political commissar of the chinese ensemble cheng hsi-wen, deputy political commissar tien tsun-chou, deputy leaders tang chiang and ma yu-tao,

as well as members of the ensemble. he had a cordial and friendly conversation with them.

at the end of the meeting cheng hsi-wen presented a silk banner to gheorghe gomoiu.

CHINA AND SOVIET UNION

Commentary by Hsinhua Correspondent: A Rare Find -- Self-portrayal of Hegemonism

(NCNA-English Peking, Jun. 1, 1976)

"the maritime power of the state", a new book by s.g. gorshkov, commander-in-chief of the soviet navy, has come off the press in moscow.

preaching the omnipotence of the navy, this book renders a wonderful self-portrayal of soviet maritime hegemony. under gorshkov's pen is a happy blend of the arrogance of peter the great of russia, the truculence of alfred t. mahan of america and the tyrant's way of t. raleigh of britain. running into no less than 200,000 words, the book brings out a marvellous picture of the social-imperialist maritime overlord.

the author as one of war-maniacs in the kremlin wantonly advertises arms expansion and war preparations and energetically advocates the strengthening of the soviet naval power as a means to obtaining supremacy over the seas and throughout the world. driven by the rapacity and unrestrainable hegemonic desire of a late-comer to the imperialist marine feast, the author arrogantly declares, "we are now in a new stage of the struggle for dividing and exploiting the seas and oceans in service of the economic and military purposes." he clamours, "can the soviet union agree to the permanent rule of the western maritime powers over the seas? of course not excl." he says, "it is necessary to build a navy as powerful as it is appropriate to the interests of a world power", adding, "without a powerful navy russia could not have been able to join the ranks of powers." he quoted an edict from the old tsar, peter the great, to serve as a watchword for building a new, big russian empire: "a monarch possessing the army alone is a one-armed man, only when he possesses the navy as well is he a man with two arms."

it must be pointed out that the soviet naval commander never contents himself with his country "joining

the ranks of powers" but wants to see it dominating the world by overwhelming all other powers.

then how is the soviet union going to take the place of western imperialism and become a new empire dominating the world? what is the ultimate goal of soviet social-imperialism? the book offers a clear answer. let us take a look at the main points of the answer.

one. the soviet navy will defeat the united states in a world war. "first and foremost," gorshkov says, "the pentagon must be made to realize that the oceans that formerly protected america from attack have completely lost the role of screen." he claims that once war breaks out, the u.s. itself will come under the threat of punishment daily and even hourly. he points out that "this is the very road taken (by the soviet union) along which our armed forces have developed".

then, he goes on to outline how the soviet navy has switched from offshore defence in the "first 10 years after the war" to the present path of development. he says: "our country started to build on a large scale a powerful ocean-going and nuclear-powered missile fleet from about the mid-fifties." take note excl. it was right after khrushchov usurped power and began restoring capitalism in the country. to facilitate offensive operations in the oceans, gorshkov lays special emphasis on developing submarines, airmen, aircraft carriers and a naval landing force. to win a naval battle in the oceans, he also stresses the importance of "cutting off the enemy's sea transport, enforcing a blockade of the enemy's ports, bases and some coastal areas and seizing islands and some remote territories" and even "launching unhindered surprise attacks on the banks".

gorshkov is undoubtedly an excellent teacher. he is lecturing those in the united states and other western countries who are still dreaming of "detente" on the truth that the soviet union is scheming to attack them from the sea and subsequently occupy their territories excl.

two. the soviet navy is also making preparations for unleashing "local wars" against small countries. having earnestly studied and summed up the experience of the imperialist powers in fighting local wars against the small countries after world war two, gorshkov says in the conclusion of the book that "this experience shows that the navy plays a very big role in a local war" and that "in conditions of a local war, the operations of the navy are conducted primarily for fulfilling 'navy-to-coast' missions. experiences so far in the use of the navy in local wars are characterized to a certain

extent by unilaterality". that is to say, big nations with "large" navies can attack the coasts of small nations whereas small nations short of such means cannot counter-attack. therefore, gorshkov declares that "once limited military confrontations approach", "the mobility and flexibility" of the navy should be utilized to "exert impact on the coastal countries, and military threats be resorted to and escalated to any level from a show of military strength to the landing of marine corps."

the soviet navy means what gorshkov says. in the 1971 crisis in south asian subcontinent, soviet warships broke into the bay of bengal. during the october, 1973 war in the middle east, more than 90 soviet warships were massing in the mediterranean. in the incident of soviet intervention in angola's internal affairs, soviet cruisers armed with nuclear missiles patrolled the coasts in southern africa and soviet military vessels shipped massive weapons and mercenaries to angola for operations.

many medium and small countries in the world fear that the angola incident may be repeated in their regions. they demand that their regions be turned into peaceful zones or non-nuclear zones. that is how they react to soviet maritime hegemonism.

three, the "positions-of-strength policy" plus "gunboat diplomacy". gorshkov declares that the navy "is a powerful means to attaining the political aim of armed struggle in time of war" and it "plays an important role as a political instrument of the state in time of peace". he lays special emphasis on the "important role" of the navy in time of peace, firstly to "demonstrate the country's economic and military might abroad" and secondly to "protect the interests of the state abroad to the maximum degree". just look: all the roles are overseas oriented and shrouded in out-and-out imperialist language excl.

gorshkov bluntly claims that, like those of the imperialist countries, "the soviet navy is also used for foreign policy measures", that it "is a mainstay of peace-time diplomacy", and that "demonstrations by the navy can in many cases provide the possibility of achieving its political purpose without resorting to armed force but merely by applying pressures with its own potential power and the threat of military actions to be taken". he says, "a host of historical facts prove that whether in the feudal period or in the period of capitalism, diplomatic problems have always been settled on the basis of the military strength of the 'negotiating parties'" and that the party with greater strength can "pursue a beneficial policy towards those countries lacking corresponding military strength". being anxious to help the readers

appreciate the power politics and "gunboat diplomacy" of the soviet union, he takes the trouble of citing the following two instances: in 1783 the tsarist government, taking the advantage of its naval superiority in the black sea, annexed crimea without a war; and in 1830 without having recourse to war russia forced turkey into a "defensive alliance" to its own benefit. gorshkov writes smugly: "that was how under the conditions of peacetime the tsars of russia attained their long-cherished goal -- freedom of navigation from the black sea through to the mediterranean."

four. in order to contend for maritime hegemony, the first thing is to "seek supremacy over the sea". s.g. gorshkov is worthy of being a faithful disciple of t. mahan, founder of the doctrine that weapons decide everything on the seas. gorshkov raises a hue and cry that "the category of the naval art to contend for supremacy over the sea still maintains its realistic urgency" and that "a series of measures" should be taken "in peacetime" to contend for "supremacy over the sea". s.g. gorshkov is also worthy of being the filial progeny of the old tsars. he unblushingly extols peter the great for "his resolute actions which showed convincingly his understanding of the essence of the notion of supremacy over the sea and his ability to put it into practice". he openly declares: "the soviet navy always maintains that rivalry for supremacy over the sea is not the purpose" but "a prerequisite" for "dominating the world" so as to "establish the order we need" "in waters belonging to no one". it is clear that the "order" the soviet union wants to establish and safeguard is one in which it can dominate the seas of the world. so he denounces "certain coastal developing countries which wish to seek new sources of funds for their own economic development" for "arbitrarily fixing the width of their own territorial waters disregarding the interests of other countries (meaning the superpowers)". he also accuses them of "establishing wider economic-interest zones in addition to territorial waters", and of demanding a revision of the old law of sea under the "pretext" of power politics. here the commander-in-chief of the soviet navy completely tears off the veil of "natural ally" and reveals his features of a maritime overlord hostile to countries of the third world and other medium-sized and small countries.

it should be pointed out that the soviet union is looking covetously to the world's oceans with the notorious maxim of f. raleigh in mind: "one who dominates the sea dominates the world trade and one who dominates the world trade dominates wealth on the globe and the globe itself." gorshkov says: "our attention to exploiting the oceans is due to their positively inexhaustible wealth", adding, "the higher the level of our economic development, the greater

significance the oceans bear to us as an inexhaustible source of energy, raw material and food and an area in which to further develop political, economic, scientific, technological, and military ties with other countries". here the soviet ambition to peculate the resources of the world's oceans is as clear as daylight.

a salient feature of gorshkov's book is the shocking frankness with which he describes, almost without any explanations, the ambition of social-imperialism to dominate the world and its evil desire for starting war and antagonizing the third world and other middle and small countries. to those who want to understand social-imperialism, the book merits reading.

CHINA AND SUDAN

Chinese Government Delegation Leaves Khartoum for Home

(NCNA-English Khartoum, Jun. 1, 1976)

the chinese government delegation headed by minister of economic relations with foreign countries fang yi left here for home this morning after attending celebrations of the 7th anniversary of sudan's may 25 revolution.

sudanese minister for the presidency of the republic abdulla el hassan el khidir and minister of state for the presidency of the republic izzel din hamid were at the airport to see off the delegation.

also present on the occasion was egyptian ambassador to sudan saad badawi al fatatry.

chinese ambassador to sudan chang yueh and leaders of chinese technical teams working here were also present.

the leader of the delegation gave a farewell dinner party on the evening of may 30 at the chinese embassy.

present at the party on invitation were speaker of the sudanese people's assembly rashid al tahir bakr, minister abdulla el hassan el khidir, assistant general secretary for information and diplomacy of the sudanese socialist union ahmed abdel halim, minister of commerce and supply haroun el awad, minister of state izzel din hamid, minister of state for industry amin abu senaina, minister of state for general education izzel din hafiz, and other high government officials.

also present were chief of staff lt. general bashir mohamed ali, and deputy chief of staff major general mohamed osman hashim, of the sudanese people's armed forces.

the party proceeded in a cordial and friendly atmosphere.

CHINA AND TUNISIA

Tunisian Ambassador to China Gives National Day Reception in Peking

(NCNA-English Peking, Jun. 1, 1976)

tunisian ambassador to china ridha klibi gave a reception here at noon today to mark the national day of the republic of tunisia.

among the guests at the reception were liu hsiang-ping, chinese minister of public health; ho ying, vice-minister of foreign affairs; chou hua-min, vice-minister of foreign trade; chen mu-hua, vice-minister of economic relations with foreign countries; wu hsiu-chuan, deputy chief of general staff of the chinese people's liberation army; hao chung-shih, vice-minister of agriculture and forestry; cheng tai-yu, vice-minister of water conservancy and power; li ching-chuan, leading member of the physical culture and sports commission; and liu hsi-chang, vice-chairman of the peking municipal revolutionary committee.

diplomatic envoys to china of various countries were present.

CHINA AND UN

Fourth Session of UNCTAD Closes

(NCNA-English Nairobi, May 31, 1976)

the 4th session of the u.n. conference on trade and development closed here this morning after a sitting of 27 days.

the session took place amidst the deepening struggle to destroy the old international economic order and establish a new one. some positive results have been achieved at the conference because the delegates of the broad thrid world countries persisted in unity and the correct principles of the manila "declaration" and "programme of action", and persevered in struggling against the two superpowers' obstruction and sabotage, thereby greatly heightening the morale of the third world peoples and deflating the arrogance of superpower hegemonism.

the resolution on the integrated commodity programme adopted by the conference confirms the necessity of an overall approach for commodities upheld by the third world countries. it also requests the secretary-general of unctad to convene a negotiating conference on a common fund no later than march 1977. the resolution on the problem of debts urges the "appropriate existing international fora" to study how to alleviate the debt difficulties of the developing countries before the end of 1976. in addition, the conference also adopted other resolutions such as the resolution on the international code of conduct for the transfer of technology and the resolution on controls over operations of multinational companies.

during the whole process when the resolutions were adopted, the two superpowers obstinately clung to their reactionary positions and peddled their sinister stuff. the u.s. delegate insisted that the conference adopt the u.s. draft resolution on the "international resources bank" and put it to vote. the u.s. draft was voted down. the "specific programme of action" as well as the "position papers" and "draft resolutions" dished up by the soviet union containing such stuff as "medium- and long-term trade agreements" as well as "disarmament", "detente", "european security conference" and other old tunes were all rejected and ignored at the negotiating groups.

the chinese delegate denounced the trash peddled by the superpowers, such as "interdependence" and "new form of international division of labour".

at the closing session, deputy leader of the chinese delegation wang yueh-yi said: "a sharp and complex struggle took place at the current session on the

establishment of a new international economic order." "the chinese delegation resolutely supports the just stand of the developing countries and expresses appreciation for their spirit of upholding principles and persisting in unity and struggle at the conference."

he said: "the two superpowers have made a most conclusive performance at the meeting. their evil acts have enabled all of us to see more clearly that they are the stubborn defenders of the old international economic order and arch-international exploiters." he pointed out that one superpower created confusion at the beginning of the conference by dishing up a proposal on an "international resources bank" in an attempt to divide the developing countries and obstruct establishment of a new international economic order. the other superpower was even more crafty, continuing to play the old trick of sham support and real opposition, support in words and opposition in concrete issues. it expressed support "in principle" for certain provisions of the manila documents, but dished up a "specific programme of action" in opposition to the manila "declaration" and the "programme of action". the essence of the "specific programme of action" lies in "the control of the developing countries to meet its need of contention for hegemony and expansion." this superpower, while welcoming "in principle" the concept of comprehensive approach for commodities, tried to use "medium- and long-term trade agreements" to negate the integrated programme for commodities. it also denied all responsibility for the difficulties of the developing countries.

wang yueh-yi stressed that this superpower donning the cloak of socialism is "undeniably one of the culprits responsible for the present difficulties of the developing countries".

he pointed out, "a number of agreements were reached at the fourth session of unctad thanks to the positive efforts of the developing countries. but owing to the obstruction and sabotage of the two superpowers, no substantive progress was made on many important issues at the conference." he said, "the superpowers' perverse action will surely meet with complete failure."

wang yueh-yi emphatically pointed out, "the struggle in the future will be protracted and the path tortuous." "the developing countries should heighten their vigilance, strengthen unity, wage a tit-for-tat struggle against the two overlords' obstruction and sabotage by adhering to the principles of the manila 'declaration' and 'programme of action', and keep marching forward towards the establishment of a new economic order," he added.

he said, "it should be welcomed that some countries of the second world supported the demands of the

developing countries during the discussions on the establishment of a new economic order, and improved their relations with the developing countries. we hope that such relations will develop continually."

he said, "many developing countries have stressed the importance of developing their national economy independently and through self-reliance, and called for closer unity and mutual help among themselves. the chinese delegation fully supports this point of view."

he pointed out that international monetary institutions like the imf and the world bank have stubbornly refused to implement the relevant resolutions adopted at the 26th u.n. general assembly, retained in its organizations the chiang gang long spurned by the chinese people, and continued to pursue a policy of creating "two chinas" and of hostility towards the chinese people. "therefore, china will not take part in any activities sponsored by them."

on angola, he said that although angola has become independent, its internal affairs are still being interfered with flagrantly and its national unity, independence and sovereignty seriously impaired. this is entirely the result of the soviet social-imperialists' policy of aggression and expansion. "we resolutely oppose the soviet social-imperialists' continued armed intervention in angola and any excuse offered for prolonging their aggression and intervention. if the recommendation of angola's entry into unctad is put to vote, the chinese delegation, in the spirit of this principled position, will not take part in the voting." the chinese people have always supported the angolan people's just struggle for national liberation, and are deeply convinced that they will surely be able to build their country into a new angola with independence, unity and national solidarity, free from foreign aggression and intervention, he said.

at the closing meeting, the kenyan delegate said that kenya, as a member of the "group of 77", will continue to support the aspirations of the group and will take action to this end.

declaring the session close, mwamunga, president of the current unctad session and kenyan minister for commerce and industry, stressed the need to carry on the struggle for setting up a new international economic order which is just and equal to the developing countries.

Chinese Delegates Leave for Council Meeting in UN Maritime Consultative Organization in London

(NCNA-English Peking, Jun. 1, 1976)

tang kuei-yu, chinese delegate to the 36th council meeting of the inter-governmental maritime consultative organization, a specialized agency of the united nations, and deputy director of the harbour superintendency of the people's republic of china, left here for london by air today. together with deputy delegate shen chao-yi and four others.

CHINA AND US

US "Call" Weekly Explains China's Criticism of Teng Hsiao-p'ing

(NCNA-English Peking, Jun. 1, 1976)

"china's victory over teng hsiao-ping taking the capitalist road" is the title of an article carried in the may 17 issue of the u.s. weekly "the call", organ of the october league (marxist-leninist).

the article states that "following the victory of new democracy in 1949, the revolution entered its socialist stage. the principal contradiction changed to one between the working class and the bourgeoisie."

it continues: "many of the revolutionary-minded democrats, who earlier had entered the party, transformed themselves and came to adopt the tasks and program of the party in the socialist stage. they studied the teachings of marxism-leninism and integrated themselves closely with the masses of working people. in this way, they came to play active and leading roles in the building of socialism.

"others, however, failed to transform their outlook and came to oppose the revolution as it moved beyond its democratic stage. because they had achieved high positions and a relatively comfortable life, they grew complacent and came into opposition to those new revolutionary things that were developing. teng hsiao-ping was just such a person."

after pointing out that throughout the whole historical stage of socialism, classes and class contradictions still exist, and so do the differences between town and country, between worker and peasant and between mental and manual labour, the article says that as bourgeois right also exists, it is necessary to restrict it by taking class struggle as the key link. "but teng hsiao-ping, and those like him such as liu shao-chi and lin piao, opposed the revolution and used their positions to defend and expand, rather than to restrict these differences under socialism. they tried to suppress the revolution under socialism, downplay the study of communist theory and promote all types of capitalist thinking."

the article describes teng hsiao-ping as a follower of the renegade liu shao-chi. it says that in collaboration with liu shao-chi he opposed the agricultural cooperation movement, worked against the rise of the people's communes and advocated a return to individual farming to push the revisionist line. he consequently came under mass criticism during the great proletarian cultural revolution. the article says, "seeing that the capitalist headquarters (of liu shao-chi) was under fire, teng made a lengthy self-criticism of his old ways and promised to accept the verdicts of the cultural revolution and follow the party's line. on this basis, he was allowed to return to a position of leadership in the party and the state". "this was in accord with chairman mao's approach to criticism and self-criticism -- 'curing the sickness to save the patient.'

"but in fact, teng hsiao-ping hadn't broken from his old ways and his old bourgeois class stand," the article notes. "he launched an attack against all the revolutionary achievements of the cultural revolution and in fact tried to reverse the very verdicts he swore to accept.

"in his 'program' he directed his main fire at chairman mao's line of 'taking class struggle as the key link'. in place of class struggle, teng's program promoted economic development as the key link. this was the same theory which teng and liu shao-chi had used to hold back the development of collectivization 20 years earlier. it was the same 'theory of the productive forces,' placing production ahead of revolution, that lin piao had used to attack the socialist revolution in 1971.

"all this experience has shown the people of china that socialism is a period of protracted class struggle. these lines of teng, lin piao and liu shao-chi represented the interests of a certain class, the bourgeoisie.

"it is within the party that the capitalist roaders are the most dangerous because it is there that they

can achieve power and implement their reactionary program," the article notes.

the article quotes a recent statement of chairman mao: "with the socialist revolution they themselves come under fire. at the time of the co-operative transformation of agriculture there were people in the party who opposed it, and when it comes to criticizing bourgeois right, they resent it. you are making the socialist revolution, and yet don't know where the bourgeoisie is. it is right in the communist party -- those in power taking the capitalist road. the capitalist-roaders are still on the capitalist road."

the "call" article concludes: "teng hsiao-ping is one of these capitalist roaders still on the road to capitalism. the socialist revolution can only move forward in the course of an all-around campaign against those who want to keep history's wheel from advancing towards communism."

CHINA AND UPPER VOLTA

Chinese Journalist Group Concludes Visit to Upper Volta

(NCNA-English Peking, May 31, 1976)

the chinese journalist group led by ling chien-hua, leading member of the editorial office of the "people's daily", left ouagadougou for home today after a visit to upper volta, according to a report from that city.

during their stay in the country, the chinese journalists visited factories, farms and information institutions in ouagadougou and bobo-dioulasso and were accorded a friendly reception by officials concerned and the people.

chinese ambassador to upper volta hsieh pang-chih gave a reception on the visit of the chinese journalists on may 28.

CHINA AND WEST GERMANY

Chinese Vice Premier Ku Mu Meets Ambassador of Federal Republic of Germany to China

(NCNA-English Peking, Jun. 1, 1976)

chinese vice-premier ku mu met here this afternoon with rolf friedemann pauls, ambassador of the federal republic of germany to china, who will soon leave his post.

present were hsu wei-chin, deputy director of the west european affairs department, and fu shun-ho, deputy director of the protocol department, of the chinese ministry of foreign affairs.

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